00035230

Digitized with financial assistance from

HT Parekh FOUNDATION

An Initiative by HDFC

WITH YOU, RIGHT THROUGH

on 15 October, 2018

THE HISTORY OF ULSTER

HUGH O'NEILL, EARL OF TYRONE

From an engraving by William Holl

THE
HISTORY OF ULSTER

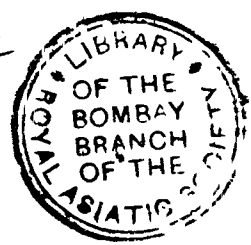
FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY

BY

RAMSAY COLLES
LL.D. M.R.I.A. F.R.Hist.S.

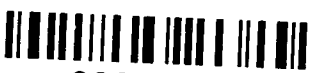
35230
aC

VOLUME II



LONDON
THE GRESHAM PUBLISHING COY. LTD.
SIXTY-SIX CHANDOS STREET COVENT GARDEN

J41.G
Col/His
35230



CONTENTS

VOLUME II

Chapter		Page
I.	Martial Law in Ulster	1
II.	"Coming Events——"	9
III.	Tyrone becomes "The O'Neill"	17
IV.	Wars and Rumours of War	25
V.	Tyrone proclaimed Traitor	32
VI.	Negotiations *ad nauseam*!	39
VII.	Tyrone's Catholic Crusade	47
VIII.	"The Tide of Battle"	54
IX.	Tyrone in the Ascendant	61
X.	After the Battle of the Yellow Ford	70
XI.	"The Real King of Ireland"	77
XII.	The Errors of Essex	84
XIII.	The Downfall of Essex	91
XIV.	Mountjoy's Methods	99
XV.	The Turn of the Tide	106
XVI.	A Spanish Invasion	114
XVII.	The Siege of Kinsale	122
XVIII.	Tyrone Submits: Death of Elizabeth	130
XIX.	King James and his Irish Subjects	139
XX.	The Flight of the Earls	147
XXI.	Some Results of the Flight	155

Contents

Chapter		Page
XXII.	The O'Dogherty Insurrection	162
XXIII.	The O'Dogherty Defeat	169
XXIV.	The Plantation of Ulster	177
XXV.	The Progress of the Plantation	186
XXVI.	A Precedent for Parliaments	194
XXVII.	The Romanists Remonstrate	202
XXVIII.	Tyrone and Tirconnell Attainted	210
XXIX.	Chichester Retires	217
XXX.	The Closing Years of James's Reign	224
XXXI.	Charles I and the Three Graces	232
XXXII.	"Like Master, like Man"	241
XXXIII.	The Wiles of Wentworth	249
XXXIV.	The Scottish Scare	257
	Index to Vol. II	267

LIST OF PLATES

VOLUME II

	Page
Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone	*Frontispiece*
Sir William Russell	10
Blackwater Fort, 1597	32
Robert, Earl of Essex	40
Lord Mountjoy	90
Capture of Earl of Ormonde, 1600	97
James I	100
Plantation of Ulster	155
Charles I	190
Earl of Strafford	201

COLOURED MAP

Map of Plantations	210

HISTORY OF ULSTER

VOLUME TWO

CHAPTER I

Martial Law in Ulster

The Family of O'Neill—The O'Donnell Family—FitzWilliam's Cruel and Treacherous Methods—Hugh Gavelagh hanged by Tyrone—The Irish Chieftain's Complaints to the Crown—Edmund Hugh Maguire's Fate—His Head used as a Football—Tyrone repairs to England—His Submission the Prelude to a Storm.

Lest the reader may be puzzled by the number of O'Neills who now appear upon the scene of action, it may be well to define as clearly as possible the position of the various members of this great Ulster family. The first Earl, it will be remembered, was Con Bacagh (The Lame), who died in 1588. Con's illegitimate son Ferdoragh (called by the English Matthew) was, by a grave error of judgment, created, at his father's request, Baron of Dungannon. He was killed in 1557, leaving four sons, the eldest of whom, Brian, succeeded him. He was known in the correspondence of the period as "the young Baron", and, as we have seen, was murdered, when still a very young man, in 1561, by Turlough Lynnah. Brian was succeeded by his brother, Hugh, who, on petitioning the Irish House of Commons in 1585, was created Earl of Tyrone. Con Bacagh, the first Earl, was also the father of the famous Shane O'Neill, who

claimed the title of Earl of Tyrone, but eventually affected to despise it. He was murdered by the Scots of Antrim in 1567. Shane's seven sons, known as the MacShanes, created at this time (1588) much trouble by claiming to be the leading members of the O'Neill family. Their names were Hugh Gavelagh, Con, Brian, Henry, Arthur, Edmund, and Turlough. Of these the first three were the most formidable. But there was still another claimant to the title of The O'Neill, and he was Turlough Brasselagh, a brother of Con, the first Earl of Tyrone. In addition to this somewhat bewildering number of "Richmonds in the field", we must include the now aged Turlough Lynnagh, the actual chief, who was the grandson of Art Oge O'Neill, also a brother of Con Bacagh.

It can easily be realized that Ulster, while all these turbulent chieftains of the O'Neill blood were struggling for supremacy, was no peaceful paradise.

Having, we hope, cleared up the ramifications of the O'Neill family, it may be well also to define those of the O'Donnells. It will be remembered that Calvagh O'Donnell, who was married to a half-sister of the Earl of Argyll (known to the Irish Annalists as "the Countess of Argyll"), was, with his wife, captured by Shane O'Neill and imprisoned for years, while "the Countess" became Shane's mistress. Calvagh fell from his horse and died on the field of battle in 1566. His son, Con, who was described by Sussex as "assuredly the likeliest plant that can grow in Ulster to graft a good subject on", died in 1583, leaving nine sons, of whom Nial Garv was the most formidable. The actual chief of Tirconnell at the time of the defeat of the Spanish Armada was Sir Hugh O'Donnell (a brother of Calvagh), who, ever since he had helped the English to crush Shane O'Neill, had been a *persona grata* with the Government at Dublin. He had the questionable pleasure of being known as "Ineen Duive's husband". Black Agnes (as her name signifies) was a MacDonald, and an Irish prototype of *Lady*

Macbeth. By her orders, Hugh, son of Calvagh O'Donnell (her husband's nephew), was murdered, because he had the temerity to claim the succession in Tirconnell. Nor was this the only murder of which she was guilty, for one of the sept of O'Gallagher annoying her by his independent bearing, she promptly had him removed by a violent death. Ineen Duive had many sources of annoyance, but the chief source for many years was an illegitimate son of her husband, named Donnell. He appears to have been older than Ineen's son, and married a daughter of Turlough Lynnagh. In 1588 he was made sheriff by FitzWilliam.

FitzWilliam himself, by his iron rule and his treacherous methods of administration, had earned the hatred of all classes and creeds. When he notified Maguire of Fermanagh that he was sending a sheriff to his territory, the Irish chieftain, knowing the Deputy's ways, offered a big bribe, writing at the same time: "Your sheriff will be welcome, but let me know his *eric*, that, if my people cut off his head, I may levy it upon the country". The bribe was accepted, and Maguire was assured that no sheriff would be sent. Notwithstanding this promise a sheriff was sent, "who brought with him 300 of the scum of creation and who lived on the plunder of the people".

The MacShanes now commenced to give trouble. Con MacShane, who had been imprisoned by Turlough Lynnagh, was after a while set at liberty by the old chieftain and taken into his confidence. Hugh Gavelagh (or the *fettered*, from the fact that he was born during his mother's imprisonment), who had been two years in Scotland, now returned to Ulster, and was supposed to have incurred the enmity of the Earl of Tyrone by giving information to the Government. He is said to have communicated to the Lord Deputy charges of treason against the Earl, alleging, amongst other things, that he had plotted with shipwrecked Spaniards to obtain help from the King of Spain to levy war against the Queen.

The Earl denied the charges. Hugh Gavelagh was seized by some of the Maguires, sold to Tyrone, and by him hanged on a thorn-tree, the legend being that, owing to the universal veneration of the name of Shane O'Neill, no man could be found in Tyrone willing to be executioner of his son, and consequently, it is said, the Earl himself acted as hangman. This Tyrone denied, giving the names of the actual executioners, and defending his conduct strenuously. Hugh Gavelagh, he said, had murdered many men, women, and children, and there was no regular law in Ulster, "but certain customs . . . and I hope Her Majesty will consider that, as her Highness's lieutenant under the Deputy (as I take myself within my own territory), I am bound to do justice upon thieves and murderers; otherwise, if I be restrained from such-like executions, and liberty left to O'Neill, O'Donnell, and others to use their ancient customs, then should I not be able to defend my country from their violence and wrongs". "In this sentence", writes Mr. Bagwell, "we have the whole difficulty of Tudor rule in Ireland briefly expressed. The Government was not strong enough to enforce equal justice, and practically confessed its impotence by allowing authority to lapse into the hands of Tyrone and such as he. From FitzWilliam downwards, nearly all the officials seemed to think that they could keep things quiet by strengthening a man who aimed at being O'Neill in the fullest sense of the word, but who was quite ready to play at being an earl when it suited him, and to remember his English education."

There were many complaints from Ulster of the tyranny and injustice of the agents of the Government. Fermanagh was raided on the one side by Sir Richard Bingham, President of Connaught, and on the other by Henslowe, the new seneschal of Monaghan, who drove Maguire's cattle, killed the women and children, and exacted illegal ransoms. Edmund Maguire's head was struck from his shoulders and was

insolently kicked about as a football by the soldiers. Shane M'Brian complained that after his father's death Island Magee, time out of mind his proper inheritance, was taken from him by Lord Essex, and had ever since been kept from him, and that afterwards Sir Henry Bagenal, Marshal of Ireland, took from him the lands of Mawghryre More, and, finding him in Newry, imprisoned him, and would not deliver him "until he had passed unto him what assurance he would have upon the said barony".

Maguire stated that the late Lord Deputy and Council had given him special letters of favour that neither the Binghams nor his other borderings should molest him; "yet Sir R. Bingham, and the rest of his name in Connaught, came with force and arms into his country, burned it, killed divers women and children, and took from him 3000 cows, besides 500 garrons and mares, and certain women and prisoners, whom he was fain to ransom, that, although letters were sent by the Lord Deputy and Council to Sir R. Bingham for causing amends to be made, he (Sir R. Bingham) came forthwith again into Fermanagh, at two several times, and preyed Maguire of 6000 cows, besides much murder; that Captain Henshaw [Henslowe], Seneschal of Monaghan, came several times with his forces to places in Fermanagh, captured 3000 cows, and killed men, women, and children; but Sir William FitzWilliam caused no redress thereof; that in the several sheriffships of Sir Henry Duke and Sir E. Harbert, in the County Cavan, they killed and preyed Maguire's tenants to his and their damages of £3000. Afterwards, the said Lord Deputy being in Monaghan, Maguire obtained faithful oath and promise that he should not be charged with Sheriffs or other offices, in regard of his coming to do obedience for one whole year; for which grant he paid, as a bribe to his Lordship and others, 300 beeves, besides 150 beeves to the Marshal (Sir H. Bagenal); but Captain Willis, having Captain Fuller's band and other companies with him, was sent

with commission to be sheriff there, and preyed the country. They cut off the head of Edmund Hugh M'Guire, and hurled it from place to place as a football. These hard courses compelled him to expulse the said Willis and his companions; whereupon ensued the proclaiming of himself and his followers, and their banishment out of the country."

One more sample may be given of these statements made by Irish chiefs of injuries which they had suffered. The complaint of the M'Mahons was: "The said Brian M'Hugh Oge saith that Hugh Roe M'Mahowne, named M'Mahowne by Sir William FitzWilliam, and so confirmed and allowed to succeed by virtue of his brother's letters patent, and coming into the state upon the word of a nobleman, and the word of Henry More, of Mellifont, decd., was afterwards most unjustly and treacherously executed by the said Sir William at his own house at Monaghan. Which allowance of succession, as this M'Mahowne doth imagine, was granted him, the said Hugh, purposely to draw an interest unto him and his heirs, contrary to the custom of the country, and then by his execution to draw the county into her Majesty's hands, as by the sequel showeth. After whose execution a garrison was placed in Monaghan, the name of M'Mahowne extinguished, and the substance of the county divided by the said Sir W. FitzWilliam between Sir H. Bagnall, Baron Elliott, Mr. Solicitor (Wilbraham), Captain Henshawe, Captain Willis, the Parson O'Connellan, Hugh Strewbridge, Thomas Asshe, Charles Fleminge, and divers strangers, and so the native country people for the most part disinherited; and some of those that had portions allotted to them were afterwards slain and murdered—namely, Patk. M'Collo M'Bryen, coming upon safe-conduct to the Parson O'Connellan, then Justice of the Peace, and chief man in authority for her Majesty in that county, was intercepted by an ambush, appointed by the said Parson and Captain Willis, and there slain."

In the majority of cases no notice was taken by the

Government of the chieftains' remonstrances, and the complaints were not reported to the Queen. In cases where such complaints were laid before her, Elizabeth, in replying, does not deny the facts stated, but asserts that the acts complained of were done without her authority, or that, if they had been reported to her, she would have seen speedy redress.

The Earl of Tyrone, having no confidence in the officials of the Pale, set out in 1590 for England to lay his grievances before the Queen. This step, however, was in itself illegal, as he left Ireland without the licence of the Viceroy, and he was accordingly imprisoned in the Tower of London. His incarceration was neither long nor rigorous, and a month later his submission was graciously received, and articles by which he bound himself anew to his former engagements were signed by him. He renounced the title of O'Neill, consented that Tyrone should be made shire-ground; that jails should be erected there; that a composition for seven years' purveyance, payable by instalments, should be paid within ten months; that he should levy no armed force, or make any incursion into a neighbouring territory except to follow a prey within five days after the capture of such prey from his own lands, or to prevent depredations from without. He undertook to execute no man without a commission from the Lord Deputy, except in cases of martial law, and to keep his troop of horsemen in the Queen's pay ready for service. In addition, he promised not to admit monks or friars into his territory; nor to correspond with foreign traitors; to promote the use of English apparel; to sell provisions to the fort of the Blackwater, &c.

For the fulfilment of these conditions he pledged his honour, and promised to send unexceptionable sureties, who were, however, not to be detained as prisoners in Dublin Castle, but to be committed to the care of merchants in the city, or of gentlemen of the Pale. The sureties might also be changed every three months. The Government, on the other

hand, undertook to protect the Earl from all molestation, by requiring similar conditions from the neighbouring chieftains; and Tyrone, on returning to Ireland, confirmed these articles before the Lord Deputy and Council; but very prudently excused himself from the execution of them until the neighbouring Irish noblemen had given securities to fulfil the conditions on their part, as it was stipulated they should be obliged to do. Camden asserts that for some time Tyrone omitted nothing that could be expected from a most dutiful subject.

This attitude, however, did not last long. The troubles in Ulster were only commencing!

CHAPTER II

"Coming Events——"

Disputes and Agreements between Turlough Lynnagh and Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone—The Earl's Education in England—FitzWilliam interferes in the Disputes—"Sir Tir" wounded—"The Dutiful Old Knight"—Hugh Roe O'Donnell escapes from Dublin—Description of his Journey homewards—Art MacShane dies from Exposure.

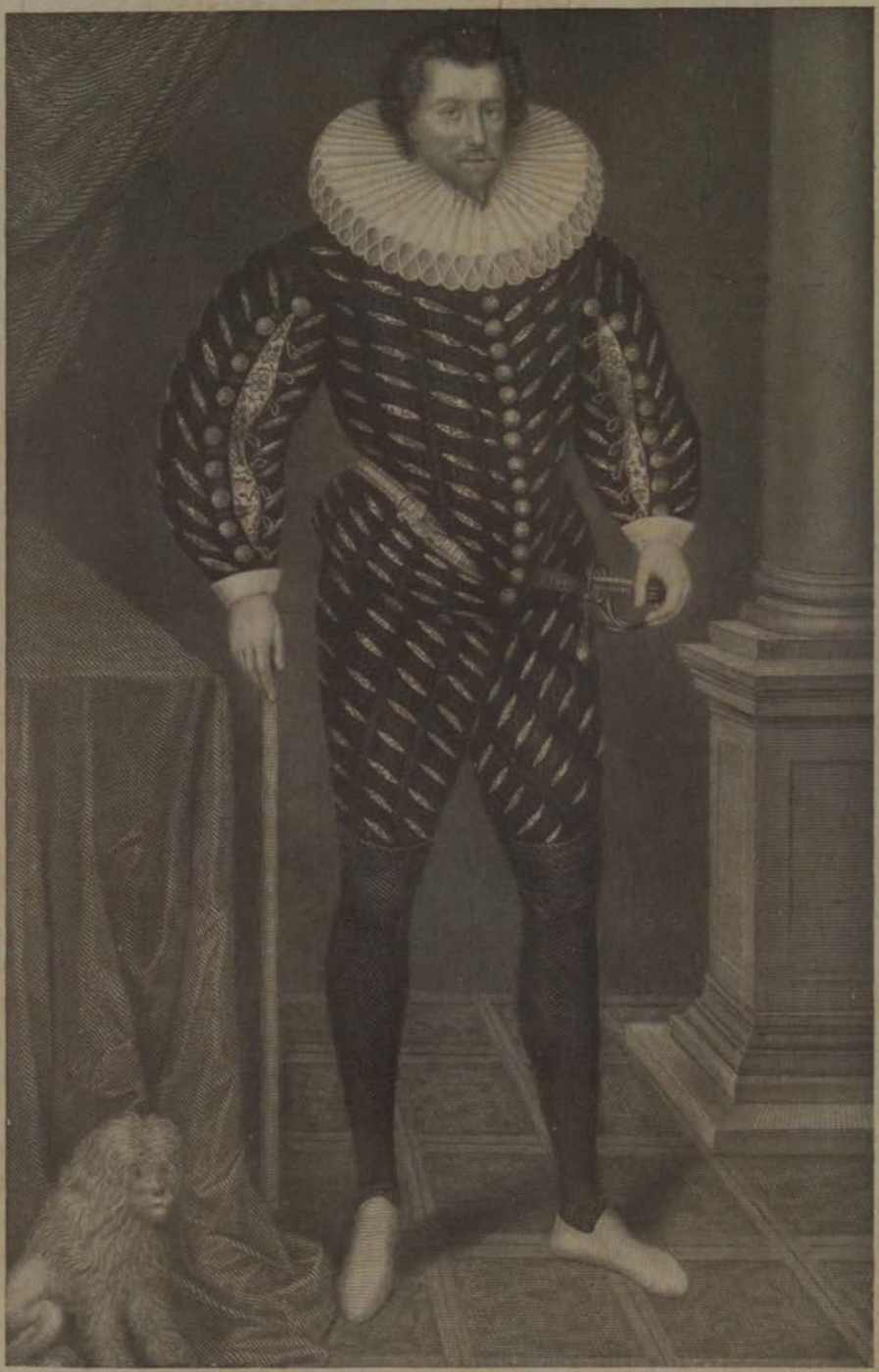
The county of Tyrone had, it will be remembered, been divided between Turlough Lynnagh and Hugh O'Neill. That part of the county which lies north and west of the Mullaghcarne Mountains was retained by the former when in 1585 he agreed to take 1000 marks a year for the remaining portion. The lease was for seven years, but O'Neill had reserved and wished to exercise the power of taking back the territory in three, which expired at Michaelmas, 1588. Fitz-William, who displayed an inclination to favour the Earl, obtained the remaining four years for him, on condition that he paid 300 fat beeves a year in addition to the rent. Between O'Neill and Turlough there was a continual warfare. In this Tyrone had the support of the Government, who did not recognize the danger of making him supreme in the north.

The father and grandfather of Hugh O'Neill had each met with a tragic end, the father being killed by Turlough Lynnagh, and the grandfather by Shane O'Neill. There was thus a blood-feud between the two chieftains. Hugh O'Neill was to all intents and purposes an Englishman. He had been taken care of and educated in England, had been taken to the Court by Sidney, and also had been given a troop of horse in

the Queen's service. He served in the English army in the Irish wars, co-operated with Essex in the settlement of Antrim and the Ulster war, and was constantly commended for his zeal and loyalty in the Queen's service. He remained English in sentiment for a long period, and it is interesting to see this descendant of the old fire-eater Con, the first Earl, lamenting in his correspondence with Elizabeth the disinclination of his countrymen to order and civility, and deploring their barbarous preference for Celtic manners. He pleaded the necessity of attaching the natives to the English Government, and requested that, with reference to his own district, effectual steps should be taken to suppress the name of The O'Neill, as the first step towards the introduction of English laws and manners into the northern province.

Although in the Articles of Agreement referred to in the previous chapter—Articles signed the 7th of June, 1590—a truce had been made between Turlough and the Earl, hostilities never ceased. The Articles contain the following significant passage: "In consideration that the Earl of Tyrone hath promised on his honour to observe and perform all these Articles, &c.; that Sir Turlough Lynnagh shall put in good pledges both for his loyalty to Her Majesty, and also to keep the peace with the Earl and all his country; that all other the Earl's neighbours bordering upon Tyrone may be wrought to this course prescribed to the Earl, to begin at one time, least Tyrone being brought under law may be spoiled or wasted by the lawless neighbours thereof".

Notwithstanding these Articles hostilities became more active. On the 18th June, 1591, twelve months after they had been signed, the Deputy writes: "I and my Council, being now but six, must be the last of this month (at Dundalk) for the ending of a great controversy between the Earl and Sir Turlough O'Neill, by reason of a fray fallen between them, in which the dutiful old knight, Sir Turlough O'Neale, was shot through the shoulder with a bullet, and stricken with



SIR WILLIAM RUSSELL

From an engraving of the portrait in the collection of the Duke of Bedford

a horseman's staff in the small of the back—two grievous wounds; but (God I thank) will recover. I sent him a surgeon with a great deal of stuff for his dressing." Of course the Earl was in the right, and the Deputy strove to make what advantage they could of the difference. "In the quarrel between the Earl of Tyrone and Sir Turlough O'Neill it was complained that the Earl was altogether in fault, but upon examination (having them both here and at the Newry), it fell out that Sir Tir was therein far to blame. I and the Council have so ended these causes as they are both returned home with good contentment, and have given both their consents to have Tirone reduced to shire ground, and to accept a sheriff."

A new element was now introduced into the field of strife by the reappearance of young Hugh Roe O'Donnell, who, having been kidnapped by Perrot, had pined for some five years a captive in Dublin Castle, where he and his companions in misfortune "beguiled the time only by lamenting to each other their troubles, and listening to the cruel sentences passed on the high-born nobles of Ireland". His fellow-prisoners were hostages from all parts of the country, among them being Henry and Art MacShane, sons of Shane O'Neill. His interests had during his imprisonment been zealously looked after by that remarkable woman, his mother, Ineen Duive, who, when her husband's illegitimate son, Donnell (and therefore elder brother of Hugh Roe), attempted to seize the chiefry, raised a body of troops, in resisting whom Donnell was killed.

After an imprisonment of five years and three months Hugh Roe found means to escape. The story of his escape is best given by the Four Masters, who for this period may be considered contemporary writers; and it is, as Professor Richey says, especially interesting, as it enables us to gain an insight into the feelings of the native Irish.

"Hugh remained in imprisonment and in chains in

Dublin . . . till the winter of this year (1592). He and his fellow-prisoners, Henry and Art, the sons of O'Neill, i.e. John, having been together in the early part of the night, got an opportunity of the guards before they had been brought to the dining-room, and, having taken off their fetters, they afterwards went to [the courtyard] having with them a very long rope, by which the fugitives descended until they reached the deep trench which surrounded the castle; they afterwards gained the opposite side, and mounted the side of the trench. There was a trusty servant who was in the habit of visiting them, to whom they had disclosed their intentions, and he met them at the time to direct them.

"They then proceeded thro' the streets of the city, and the gates of the city were open. They afterwards passed through intricate and difficult places until they arrived on the open plain of Slieve Roe (the Red Mountain, on the borders of Dublin and Wicklow). The darkness of the night, and the swiftness of their flight, through dread of being pursued, separated the eldest from the others, namely Henry O'Neill. However, they continued their progress, led on by their own man.

"The night was dropping snow, so that it was not easy for them to walk; for they were without outside coats, having left their upper garments in the sewer through which they had come. Art became more exhausted than Hugh; for it was a long time since he had been incarcerated. When Hugh perceived that Art was exhausted, he requested him to put one hand on his shoulder, and the other upon the shoulder of the servant, and they proceeded in that manner until they crossed the Red Mountain. After this they became wearied, and being unable to bring Art further, stopped under the shelter of a projecting rock. They sent the servant with word to Glenmalure, where dwelt Fiacha M'Hugh (O'Byrne) who was then at war with the English.

"That Glen was an impregnable stronghold, and a great

number of the prisoners of Dublin, when they made their escape, were in the habit of proceeding to that glen, for they considered themselves safe there until they turned to their countries. Fiacha immediately summoned a number of his friends, whom he could rely on, to go to them, one with food, another with ale and mead. They accordingly proceeded, and arrived at the place where the men were. Having been completely covered with the snow, they found no life in their members, but they were as if dead. They took them up from where they lay and requested them to take some of the mead and ale; but they were not able to do so, so that Art at length died, and was buried in that place.

"As for Hugh, he afterwards took some of the mead, and his faculties were restored after drinking it, except the use of his feet alone. The men then carried him to the glen which we have mentioned; and he remained in a private house, under care, until a messenger came privately to enquire after him from his brother-in-law, the Earl O'Neill. After the messenger had come to him, he prepared to depart; and it was difficult for him to go on that journey, for his feet could not be cured; so that another person should lift him on his horse, and take him between his hands again when alighting.

"Fiacha sent a troop of horse with him by night until he should cross the River Liffey, to defend him against the guards who were looking out for him; for the English of Dublin had received intelligence that Hugh was in Glenmalure, so that it was therefore they placed sentinels on the shallow fords of the river to prevent Hugh and the preservers, who had fled along with him, from crossing thence into the province of Ulster. The men who were along with Hugh were obliged to cross a difficult deep ford on the River Liffey, near the city of Dublin, which they passed unnoticed by the English, until they arrived on the plain of the fortress. He was accompanied by the persons who had on a former occasion forsaken him after his first escape, Feelem O'Toole and his brother, in conjunc-

tion with the troops who were escorting him to that place; and they ratified their good faith and friendship with each other. After bidding him farewell, and giving him their blessing, they then parted with him there.

"As to Hugh O'Donnell, he had none along with him but the one young man of the people of Hugh O'Neill, who had gone for him to the celebrated glen and who spoke the language of the foreigners (English), and who was also in the habit of accompanying the Earl, that is, Hugh O'Neill, whenever he went among the English, so that he knew, and was familiar with every place through which they passed. They proceeded on their two very swift steeds along the direct course of the roads of Meath, until they arrived on the banks of the Boyne before morning, a short distance to the west of Drogheda; but they were in dread to go to that city, so that what they did was to go along the bank of the river to a place where a few fishermen usually waited, and who had a small ferrying corach (coracle, or small boat). Hugh having gone into the corach, the ferryman left him on the opposite bank, after giving him full payment; Hugh's servant having returned, took the horses with him through the city, and brought them to Hugh on the other side of the river. They then mounted their horses and proceeded until they were two miles from the river, where they saw a thick bushy grove before them, in the way which they went, surrounded by a very great foss, as if it were a strongly fenced garden; there was a fine residence belonging to an excellent gentleman of the English near the wood, and he was a trusty friend of O'Neill's.

"When they had arrived at the ramparts, they left their horses and went into the wood within the foss, for Hugh's faithful guide was well acquainted with that place; having left Hugh there, he went into the fortress, and was well received. They remained there until the night of the following day, and their horses having been got ready for them in the

beginning of the night, they proceeded across Sleabh Breagh, and through Machaire Conaill (both in the county of Louth), until they arrived at Traigh-Baile-mic-Buain (Dundalk), before morning; as the gates of the town were opened in the morning early, they resolved to pass through it, and they proceeded through it on their horses until they arrived at the other side; and they were cheerful and rejoiced for having got over all the dangers, which had laid before them until then.

"They then proceeded to the Fiodh (the wood), where lived Turlough, the son of Henry, son of Felim Roe O'Neill, to rest themselves, and then they were secure, for Turlough was a friend and connection of his, and he and the Earl O'Neill were born of the same mother; they remained there until the following day, and then proceeded across Slieve Fuaid (the Fews mountains in Armagh), and arrived at Armagh, where they remained privately that night. They went on the following day to Dungannon, where the Earl, Hugh O'Neill, lived, and he was rejoiced at their arrival, and they were led to a retired apartment without the knowledge of any, excepting a few of his trusty people, who were attending them, and Hugh remained there for the space of four nights, recovering himself from the fatigue of his journey and troubles. After which he prepared to depart, and took leave of the Earl, who sent a troop of horse with him, until he arrived at the eastern side of Lough Erne. The lord of the country was a friend of his, and a kinsman by the mother's side—namely Hugh Maguire, who was rejoiced at his coming, and a boat having been brought to them, into which they went, they rowed from thence until they arrived at a narrow creek of the lake, where they landed; a number of his faithful people having gone to meet him, they conveyed him to the castle of Ath-Seanaigh (Ballyshannon), in which were the guards of O'Donnell, his father."

I have dwelt thus long on this account of Hugh Roe

O'Donnell's escape, because it is an essentially attractive "human document", and the description of the journey fraught with so much good and evil for Ireland is particularly interesting when read by the light of Hugh Roe's subsequent career. The account given is of his second attempt to escape, his first having proved a failure. On that occasion the fugitive was accompanied by a few companions. They fled towards Slieve Rua, or the Three-Rock Mountain, and O'Donnell, becoming exhausted, was reluctantly forsaken by his companions, one of whom, Art Kavanagh, was recaptured the following year and hanged at Carlow. Hugh Roe was protected for a time by Felim O'Toole, chief of Feara Cualann, who resided in the district now called Powerscourt; but Felim's friends persuaded him not to jeopardize his own safety by retaining O'Donnell, and Felim accordingly made a merit of surrendering him. O'Donnell, as we shall see, became an important factor in the political life of his day, and his career was marked by his intense hatred of the English, a hatred which sprang from his bitter experience in being kidnapped and immured without any charge whatever, and despite the fact that the O'Donnells had been always devoted to the English interest.

CHAPTER III

Tyrone becomes "The O'Neill"

The Earl of Tyrone elopes with the Knight Marshal's Sister—Sir Henry Bagenal's hatred of Tyrone reciprocated—Turlough Lynnagh surrenders Chieftaincy of County Tyrone—The Earl becomes "The O'Neill"—Troubles in Fermanagh—Sir Hugh O'Donnell resigns in favour of his son, Hugh Roe—Tyrone's Last Aid to the English.

It is pleasant in the arid waste of political bickerings and sanguinary strife to come across such a wayward blossom as a love romance. The story of Raymond and Strongbow's sister, told in Vol. I, is now to be repeated, with a difference. In 1590 Sir Henry Bagenal succeeded his father, Sir Nicholas Bagenal, in the office of Marshal of Ireland. The Bagenals had acquired by various means a great deal of landed property in the North of Ireland; we have seen how M'Mahon's estate was broken up, and the greater part divided between Sir Henry Bagenal, three or four English officers, and some Dublin lawyers, the Crown reserving for itself a quitrent. Sir Henry's relation to the Irish consisted of the fact that he had shed a good deal of Irish blood, and obtained a great deal of Irish land. The Marshal had a sister, Mabel, who was an exceedingly beautiful girl of twenty years of age. With Miss Bagenal the Earl of Tyrone fell in love, if such an expression can with propriety be used in connection with a widower of fifty.

Tyrone's first wife was a daughter of Sir Brian MacPhelim O'Neill, from whom, according to his own account, he was "divorced by orders of the Church". As to the

validity of this divorce there were certain doubts at the time, but the divorced wife married again. Tyrone then married a sister of Hugh Roe O'Donnell. She died; whereupon, meeting Miss Mabel Bagenal in Newry, he proposed to her, and, receiving a satisfactory reply, asked her brother the Marshal's consent to the match. Sir Henry was furious at the very idea, and would not consent, giving as his reasons the possible opposition of the Queen, and "the incivility of the Earl's country not agreeing with his sister's education, and the uncertainty of a jointure to be allotted for her maintenance after the Earl's death".

It must be remembered that Tyrone was much more of an English politician and courtier than an Irish chieftain. He had, as already stated, served in the English army, had fought with credit under Grey in Munster, and was intimately acquainted with all the leading Englishmen of his day. Even his religion, unlike that of most Irish Catholics of the time, sat very lightly upon him. Captain Lee, an English officer quartered in Ulster, in a very interesting letter to the Queen, written about this time, assures her confidentially that, although a Roman Catholic, Tyrone, with whom he was closely associated, "is less dangerously or hurtfully so than some of the greatest in the English Pale", for that when he accompanied the Lord Deputy to church "he will stay and hear a sermon", whereas they "when they have reached the church door depart as if they were wild cats". Lee adds as a further recommendation, that by way of domestic chaplain he has at present but "one little cub of an English priest". Lord Essex, in still plainer terms, told Tyrone himself when he was posing as the champion of Catholicism: "Dost *thou* talk of a free exercise of religion? Why, thou carest as little for religion as my horse."

Bagenal, in order to keep his sister out of harm's way, sent her from Newry to the care of Sir Patrick Barnwell, who was married to another of his sisters, and who lived at

Turvey, near Swords, a village about seven miles from Dublin. Thither Tyrone followed the fair Mabel, and was courteously received by Sir Patrick. He had also, it appears, many friends among the English. After another pleasing interview with Miss Bagenal, to whose girlish imagination he must have appeared to be a veritable knight of romance, he presented a gold chain worth a hundred pounds, and made arrangements for her abduction, which later were carried out. A dinner being given two days after his arrival in honour of the Earl, he came attended by two or three gentlemen, one of whom, named William Warren, acted as his confidant. After dinner Tyrone engaged the rest of the company in conversation, while Warren, accompanied by two servants, rode off with the lady safe behind him, and carried her to the residence of a friend at Drumcondra. "When I understood", said Tyrone, "that my prey was well forward in her way towards the place where we had agreed upon, I took leave of Sir Patrick Barnwell and his lady and followed after; and soon after I was gone, the gentlemen which were in company with me took their horses and came away privately."

When these facts reached Sir Henry Bagenal's ears his wrath knew no bounds. "I cannot", he told Burleigh, "but accurse myself and fortune that my blood, which in my father and myself hath often been spilled in repressing this rebellious race, should now be mingled with so traitorous a stock and kindred." Tyrone appears to have understood women, for the giving of the gold chain had its influence on an impressionable girl. He was accused by the Marshal of enticing Miss Bagenal away "by taking advantage of her years and ignorance of his barbarous estate and course of living", and deceiving her, but he no more deceived her than Othello deceived Desdemona. Sir Henry, in his haste, said that Tyrone did "entice the unfortunate girl by nursing in her through the report of some corrupted persons an opinion

of his haviour and greatness". How honourable Tyrone's actions were may be seen in the fact that the couple were married by prearrangement at William Warren's house on the day following the elopement (being the 3rd of August, 1591) by the Bishop of Meath. Even the selection of this high dignitary of the Church to perform the wedding ceremony proves that the Earl carried out a definite plan in carrying off Miss Bagenal, and all might have been well but for the Marshal's undisguised hostility. Instead of accepting the situation, and recognizing the futility of further fuming, Bagenal became Tyrone's most implacable foe, and Tyrone retaliated by saying in the presence of his young wife that there was no man in the world he hated so much as the Knight Marshal her brother. Thus "ill kept echoing ill", and an atmosphere of hatred had its effect on the poor young Countess, who died in January, 1596, less than five years after her marriage, and by so doing had not the sorrow of witnessing the last scene of deadly strife between her brother and her husband. Tyrone certainly had a genuine grievance in that Bagenal refused to pay him a legacy of £1000 left to the Countess by her father, and his frequent applications for this money kept the Marshal in a constant state of irritation, and he resolved to leave no stone unturned to ruin Tyrone. He now began trumping up to the Council and the Queen accusations of treason on Tyrone's part, and basely intercepted the answers which the Earl made to the charges brought against him.

A perpetual recurrence of outrages against the northern chieftains served effectually to prepare the way for the crisis which was now fast approaching their province. O'Donnell collected an army at Lifford, and under his influence Turlough Lynnagh surrendered the chieftaincy of Tyrone, and being secured certain property and income for his life, agreed by deed, dated 28th June, 1593, that "the Earl and his heirs should hold the territory and lands of Tyrone against Sir

Turlough and his heirs, discharged of all such title and demand Sir Turlough claimeth to have in the same". By this agreement Hugh O'Neill became The O'Neill as well as Earl of Tyrone. Turlough further consented to dismiss his English guard, so that Ulster was left once more subject only to its ancient Irish dynasts, O'Neill and O'Donnell.

In May, 1593, serious disturbances broke out in Breffny and Fermanagh. George Bingham, brother of Sir Richard, the President of Connaught, entered Breffny, with an armed force, to distrain for rents claimed for the Queen. Brian Oge O'Rourke asserted that no rents were unpaid except for lands lying waste, and which ought not to be rated. Bingham nevertheless seized the cattle of O'Rourke, who thereupon took up arms, and marching to Ballymote, where Bingham resided, retaliated by acts of plunder. O'Rourke's neighbour, Hugh Maguire, was next provoked into hostilities. He had purchased exemption from the presence of an English sheriff by giving FitzWilliam 300 cows; yet Captain Willis was appointed sheriff of Fermanagh, as already stated, and went about the country with 100 armed men and as many women and children, who were all supported on the spoils of the district. Maguire hunted Willis into a church, where he would assuredly have put them to death had not Tyrone interfered, and saved their lives on condition that they immediately quitted the country. The Lord Deputy was enraged because Tyrone did not punish Maguire, and he even called him a traitor; and Bagenal seized the opportunity to forward fresh impeachments against him.

Hugh Roe O'Donnell still suffered from the effects of his exposure to the frost in the Wicklow mountains, and, the doctors finding it necessary to amputate both his great toes, he remained at Ballyshannon under their care from the February until April. A general meeting of the Cinel Connel was then summoned, and, all having assembled save the partisans of Calvagh O'Donnell's family, Sir Hugh

abdicated in favour of his son. The young chieftain proceeded, according to ancient usage, to at once make a hostile incursion. He entered the lands of Sir Turlough Lynnagh, which he laid waste; and that "dutiful old knight", having applied for the aid of some English forces, Hugh Roe paid him a second visit, and drove his adherents to seek an asylum in the castle of O'Kane of Glengiveen, where, being under the protection of a friendly chief, he would not molest them. Later he besieged Sir Turlough and his Englishmen in the castle of Strabane, and burned the town up to the fortress; but as these proceedings amounted to an open defiance of English authority, Tyrone, fearing that a premature and fruitless war would be the result, brought about a meeting at Dundalk between Hugh Roe and FitzWilliam, so arranging matters that the former obtained a free pardon for all his misdeeds, including his escape from Dublin Castle. This recognition by the Government of Hugh Roe's chieftaincy induced the adherents of Calvagh O'Donnell's sons to admit him as their chief, so that his power at home was considerably augmented.

Tyrone's object in coming to peace with Turlough Lynnagh was no doubt to keep things quiet, but neither he nor O'Donnell ever enjoyed much peace. Maguire, noting the results of Brian Oge O'Rourke's attack on George Bingham, determined to attack Bingham himself, and with that object he invaded Connaught, penetrating to Tulsk, in Roscommon, where the President of the Province was encamped. At the time Edward MacGauran, titular primate of all Ireland, encouraged Maguire, and even went so far in his enthusiasm as to accompany him on this expedition, of which the result was that the English party were outnumbered and put to flight, while one of the English officers, Sir William Clifford, was slain, as were also Archbishop Gauran, and the abbot, Cathal Maguire. Bingham, knowing that the dead archbishop had recently returned to Ireland as bearer of

promises of aid from Spain, denounced him as "a champion of the Pope's, like Dr. Allen, the notable traitor; but, God be thanked", he added, "he hath left his dead carcass on the Maugherie, only the said rebels carried his head away with them that they might universally bemoan him at home". Mr. Richard Bagwell, in his admirable *Ireland under the Tudors*, gives the text of an original intercepted letter from Primate MacGauran to Captain Eustace, which he states is preserved at Hatfield. The letter is dated Madrid, June 28, 1591, and the writer says: "I hope in God Ireland will soon be free from Englishmen, and notwithstanding that the Catholic King his captains be slow in their affairs, I am certain that the men now purposed to be sent to comfort the same poor island, which is in distress a long time, will not be slow. I ought not to write much unto you touching those causes, for I know that a Spaniard shall be chief governor of them. The Irish regiment is written for."

The Lord Deputy now collected all the troops of the Pale and marched into Fermanagh, where he was joined by Tyrone and the Knight Marshal. To the latter was committed the chief command, and at the same time Sir Richard Bingham and the Earl of Thomond approached from Connaught. For Maguire to attempt to resist such an overwhelming force was madness; but, having driven his flocks and herds into Tirconnell, he defended, with great bravery, a ford on the River Erne, to the west of Belleek, losing 200 of his men before the ford was forced. Tyrone, who crossed the river at the head of the cavalry, was severely wounded in the thigh. O'Sullivan Beare says that Hugh Roe O'Donnell was marching to the aid of Maguire, and would have attacked the English the night after the battle of the ford had not Tyrone privately requested him to refrain from doing so while he was in their ranks. "Maguire's assailants", adds O'Sullivan Beare, "had 700 horse against 100, and musketeers against archers, and the leaden bullets went

farther than the arrows. The musketeers in the woods bordering on the river shot down with impunity the Catholics, who stood in the open, while the archers could take no aim at men protected by thick clumps of trees." O'Sullivan says that Bagenal asked Tyrone to write to the Queen and Fitz-William praising his valour, and that Tyrone replied that he would tell a plain unvarnished tale to both when he got an opportunity. This victory increased the mutual hatred of the brothers-in-law, each protesting that the credit which should have been given to him was given to the other. Tyrone entertained the idea that the Marshal might treacherously arrest him, and withdrew to a safe distance. This was the last appearance of Tyrone as an ally of England. The campaign led to no result except the superseding of the legitimate chieftain of Fermanagh by Conor Oge Maguire.

CHAPTER IV

Wars and Rumours of War

Trouble in Fermanagh—The Siege of Enniskillen—The Ford of Biscuits—FitzWilliam resigns—Appointment of Sir William Russell—Tyrone appears before Special Commissioners—Elizabeth and Tyrone—Bagenal accuses Tyrone of Disloyalty—Tyrone challenges Bagenal—State Papers on Tyrone.

The campaign against Maguire of Fermanagh was carried on vigorously, boats being launched upon Lough Erne, so that the defeated chieftain, all through the winter of 1593, was hunted like some wild animal, from island to island. Early in the year following, Fitzwilliam was again in Fermanagh, took the town of Enniskillen, and, having placed an English garrison there, returned to Dublin. Scarcely had he departed when Hugh Roe, who had been appealed to by Maguire, throwing off all semblance of allegiance, led an army to his aid, besieged the English garrison in Enniskillen, and plundered all in the surrounding district who lived under English jurisdiction. FitzWilliam commanded the gentlemen of the Pale, with O'Reilly and Bingham, to revictual the fort of Enniskillen, where the garrison had already begun to suffer severely from hunger. The force collected for this purpose was placed under the command of Sir Edward Herbert, Sir Henry Duke, and George Bingham. Maguire, with such men as had been left with him by O'Donnell, and Cormac O'Neill, brother of the Earl of Tyrone, set out to intercept them. The presence of Cormac is explained by O'Sullivan Beare, who tells us that O'Donnell, on hearing that a force was about to march to relieve Enniskillen, sent word to the Earl of Tyrone that he would regard

him as an enemy unless he lent his aid at such a juncture. Tyrone was convinced that a rebellion at that moment, before the appearance of the expected aid from Spain, would rashly imperil the cause he had at heart, yet he also knew that he gained little by holding aloof himself, as he was already an object of suspicion to the English Government. He was perplexed how to act, but the matter seems to have been compromised by the departure of his brother, Cormac, with a contingent of 100 horse and 300 disciplined musketeers to join Maguire, at the same time that it did not appear whether they were sent by Tyrone or went spontaneously. Authorities differ as to the composition of the army sent to relieve Enniskillen, O'Sullivan stating that it comprised 400 horse and over 2000 foot; whereas Cox makes it 46 horse and 600 foot.

The hostile armies met at a ford about five miles from Enniskillen, where a fierce battle was fought, resulting in a rout of the English forces, with the slaughter, according to O'Sullivan, of 400 of their men. All the provisions intended for the beleaguered fortress, consisting largely of biscuits, were taken, in consequence of which the place was called Bel-atha-nam-Briosgadh, or the Ford of Biscuits. As soon as the news of the defeat reached Enniskillen the garrison capitulated and were suffered by Maguire to depart in safety. The victorious Irish left a sufficient garrison at Enniskillen and marched into northern Connaught, where Sir Richard Bingham was. They laid waste all the English settlements, and slew every male from the age of fifteen to sixty whom they found could not speak Irish, so that no Englishman remained in the country except in a few fortified towns and castles; and O'Sullivan gives as a reason for the severe measures taken on this occasion by the Irish that they were inflamed with a desire to retaliate on the English for their cruel treatment of old men, women, and children, whom they had hurled from the bridge of Enniskillen when the town fell into their hands.

FitzWilliam's health had been failing for some time. Constant wars and rumours of war did not render the post of Lord Deputy congenial to one who was not a professional soldier. He had now reached the period of life when peace and quietness are appreciated, being on the borders of the Psalmist's limit of three score years and ten. "I am", he wrote, "upon the pitch of sixty-nine years old, my body is weak, my stomach weaker, the stone doth oft torment me, and now the gout hath utterly lamed me in my leg. My sight and memory do both fail me, so that I am less than half a man." He was directed to appoint Lords Justices, if necessary, and await the arrival of his successor.

The new Lord Deputy was Sir William Russell, fourth son of Francis, Earl of Bedford, who had served with credit in Holland, was by Sidney's side when he received his death-wound, and succeeded him as governor of Flushing. FitzWilliam did not find it necessary to appoint Lords Justices, but he was unable to leave Dublin, and negotiations with Tyrone were referred to commissioners. The Earl, whose loyalty had of late become more dubious than ever, made his appearance unexpectedly in Dublin a few weeks after the instalment of Russell, to whom the Queen had written on the 3rd of May, 1594, referring to letters of Tyrone, "exhibiting in writing sundry griefs and wrongs done to him by the then Deputy and Marshal, and yielding his oath and writing to continue a loyal and obedient servant". "Thereupon", wrote Elizabeth, "we commanded our Commissioners to let him understand that we were resolved to revoke Sir Wm. Fitzwilliam from the office, and that the Marshal should nowise attempt anything against the Earl and his people. Should these measures fail to bring Ulster to good obedience, you are to use your authority with our Council, and the aid of the forces, to procure redress; and we will send you some augmentation of forces."

No one anticipated that Tyrone would appear in Dublin,

for he, knowing that in his position he could not be safe, had remained away from the Council. He, however, arrived suddenly, as if acting upon the Queen's letters, and on the 13th August, 1594, had a submission to the new Lord Deputy. In this document he acknowledged his fault in absenting himself from the Council, but attributed it to his apprehension of violence from the ex-Lord Deputy. He complained of the unworthy suspicions entertained against him, and in vindication of himself appealed to the many services which he had rendered to the Government, more especially to that which he had so lately performed against Maguire, and in which he had received a serious wound. "Her Majesty's displeasure", he wrote, "has been my greatest grief, for she it was who advanced me to high title and great living; and I know that Her Majesty, who by grace has advanced me, by force may pluck me down. How can it be then that I should be so void of reason as to work my own ruin? I confess I am not clear of offence; but I have done what I have done to save my life; nevertheless I am sorry for my fault. I here offer my services, either in relieving the distressed ward at Iniskyllen, expulsing the Scots, or doing anything else."

Russell seems to have been inclined to accept his plea of justification, but Tyrone's old enemy, Bagenal, renewed his charges of his treason against him with redoubled energy. He asserted that the Earl had entertained the late Archbishop MacGauran, knowing him to be a traitor; that he corresponded with O'Donnell Roe while the latter was levying war against the Queen; that, being allowed to keep six companies in the Queen's service, he had contrived, by constantly changing them, to discipline to arms all the men in the Province; and that, under the pretence of building a castle for himself in the English fashion, he had purchased a large quantity of lead, which he kept stored up at Dungannon as material from which to make bullets.

Several questions were put to the Earl by the Council, all of which he answered in a most satisfactory manner, whereupon the Council, notwithstanding Bagenal's charges, resolved "that, for weighty considerations concerning Her Majesty's service, the Earl should not be charged with the said articles at that time, but to be deferred to a more fit time".

This course of action made Elizabeth very angry. "We can no longer forbear to let you know", she wrote on the 31st of October, "what great mischief the remiss and weak proceedings of late have wrought in that kingdom. Since first the Earl of Tyrone began to affect superiority over such principal persons as (before we advanced him) daily bearded him, we did ever lay before you seriously the prevention of such inconveniences. It is gross to find such a man so laid open to you all, and made suspicious by his own actions, had been suffered to grow to this head by your receiving his excuses and subterfuges. When he came to the late Deputy at Dublin, and was substantially charged, he was dismissed. When he came to Dundalk to you, the Chancellor, and the Chief Justice, where many things were apparently proved, he was discharged with triumph to his own partakers, and with a general discouragement to all those that (for our service) had opposed themselves against him. For amends whereof, when voluntarily he came to you, the Deputy, it was overruled by you, the Council, to dismiss him, though dangerous accusations were offered against him. This was as foul an oversight as ever was committed in that kingdom. The nature of treasons are secret, and not to be proved, for the most part, but by presumptions. He coming in of purpose to offer personal purgation, with great reason you might have stayed him till proofs had been made, or kept him in suspense upon his trial until you had received our pleasure. You alleged that you thought it perilous; but he or his could not have any way prejudiced your or our estate, and none of his durst have stirred while he was in restraint. It was a great

oversight in you of the Council there, when the Earl was first so probably charged, to dismiss him so slenderly upon his denials. Our commandments to you *in private* for his stay ought otherwise have guided you."

Tyrone turned the tables on those who accused him of disloyalty by bringing counter-charges of bribery and corruption against FitzWilliam, and of complicity against Bagenal, who had, he said, bribed the ex-Deputy with money extorted from the people under him. As to the settlement of Monaghan, he said that "every peddling merchant and other men of no account had a share of the land; and the Marshal (who never took pains in bringing of that country to subjection) had a great part of it". The Earl showed his contempt of the malignity of Bagenal by offering to prove the injustice of his charges by the ordeal of single combat, but the Knight Marshal (who had after an action, as already stated, asked Tyrone to praise his valour to the Queen) declined the offer.

The probable and impending rebellion of Tyrone exercised the minds of English statesmen not a little. "If his purpose is to rebel," says a State paper, "it must proceed either with a combination from Spain (which may be suspected as well in regard that he is of the Romish Church, as also heretofore, for *viva voce* by Hugh Gavelock, one of Shane O'Neill's sons, to his face he hath been accused to have a Spanish heart), or else an ancient Irish practice to hinder the proceeding of English justice, which of late hath crept further into Ulster than accustomed. His rebellion will be the more dangerous, and cost the Queen more crowns than any that have foregone him since Her Majesty's reign; for, educated, more disciplined, and naturally valiant, he is worthily reputed the best man of war of his nation. Most of his followers are well-trained soldiers, using our weapons; and he is the greatest man of territory and revenue within that kingdom, and is absolute commander of the North of Ireland.

"If he have plotted with Spain to pull the crown from the Queen's head—for combining with foreign power has no other pretence—then assuredly Scotland is made a party to assist them; and Sir William Stanley, and other English and Irish traitors, are like to be employed in the action. The way for them most to annoy us is to put into St. George's Channel, and not to let fall an anchor until they come to the entrance of the haven of Dublin, where they may unship their men, and ride safely in all weathers. The lesser ships may safely pass the bar of Dublin, and land where they list. But if his, the Earl's, purpose reach no farther than ordinary rebellions in Ireland, which ever more arise either upon dislike of the person of someone that doth govern and administer justice, or else to justice itself, with both the which it appeareth that this Earl doth find himself grieved, then I dare the more boldly say my opinion, holding his rebellion not so dangerous.

"If the Queen's honour may be saved, without blemish, like unto an unspotted virgin herself, all means should be used to draw this Earl into his former obedience, his grief not being very difficult to redress. He has ever more had a thirsty desire to be called O'Neill—a name more in price to him than to be entitled Cæsar. The power that this Earl can make is about 6000 or 7000 footmen, and better than 1000 horse. To encounter this force, the Queen (besides the forces now in garrison) hath need to erect into bands 2500 footmen and 500 horsemen. When the Deputy shall make his general hostings to bring him into the enemy's country, he may command the established garrisons of Ulster to come to him."

There is no doubt that the Queen and the English Council were much impressed by Tyrone's attitude. Bagenal was warned not to further molest the Earl, and the disclosure of the facts as set forth by Tyrone had much to do with Fitz-William's resignation.

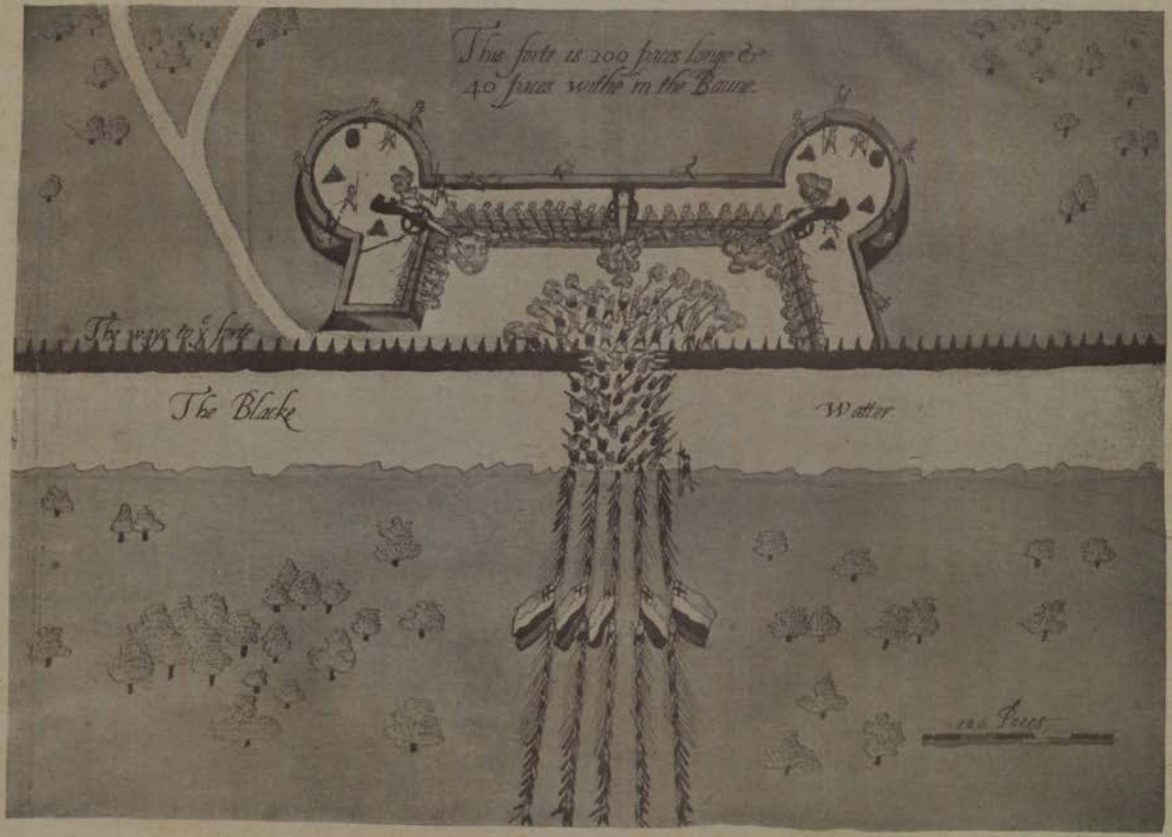
CHAPTER V

Tyrone proclaimed Traitor

Contrasted Attitudes of Shane O'Neill and Tyrone—Numerical Strength of Royal and Irish Forces—Tyrone declares his Independence—Sir John Norris, Commander of the Forces, arrives—War in Ulster commences—Tyrone proclaimed a Traitor—O'Donnell makes Incursions into Connaught—Battle of Clontibert—Turlough Lynnagh dies, and leaves Tyrone Chief of Ulster.

The attitude of Tyrone towards the other Irish chiefs contrasts very favourably with that adopted by Shane O'Neill. While Shane attempted to enforce the feudal pretensions of his family, and endeavoured to reduce the power of the rival house of O'Donnell, Tyrone, on the contrary, made himself the head of a confederacy of those who had suffered wrongs at the hands of the English Government. A strong personal friendship existed between Tyrone and O'Donnell, and, while not assuming to be Ardri or Supreme Chief of Ulster, Tyrone contrived to exercise a complete command over the Ulster lords and a directing influence over the chiefs, who, by his assistance, rose in rebellion in the other provinces.

In November, 1594, he had with him 1140 foot, "the chiefest force of his footmen, trained after the English manner, having many pecks among them, so as all of them were not shot", and 540 horse, besides the forces of O'Donnell, MacMahon, and those of Clandeboy. The entire force of men which the Ulster chiefs could put in the field was estimated at 15,130 foot and 2238 horse; but the vast proportion of these were irregular troops, and no large force could be kept together for any length of time.



BLACKWATER FORT, 1597

From a contemporary drawing preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin

The entire English regular force in Ireland in 1595, as appears by the muster-master's return of that year, was 657 horse and 4040 foot, which must be reduced by the deficiencies in the companies occasioned by the captains systematically omitting to report losses, and drawing pay for the nominal strength under their command. The levies of the Pale make no figure in the war, and were useful only for defensive purposes; but, on the other hand, the Earl of Ormonde and many of the Munster chiefs afforded the Government considerable support.

Disaffection now became so general, especially in Ulster and Connaught, that there could be no longer any doubt that a great civil war was imminent. The Lord Deputy asked for reinforcements from England, and it was resolved that Sir John Norris, an officer of great experience (who was, it will be remembered, Lord President of Connaught, and son of Lord Norris of Rycot), and whose brother, Sir Thomas, was President of Munster, should be sent over as Lord General, with 2000 veteran troops, who had distinguished themselves in Brittany, together with 1000 men of a fresh levy.

Tyrone now thought it high time to declare himself. He found he was already treated as an enemy by the Government on the one side, while on the other he sympathized with the Irish of his own province. Accordingly he seized the fort of the Blackwater, commanding entrance into his own territory, while O'Donnell, who had never relaxed in his hostility to England, and burned to avenge his own and his country's wrongs, made incursions in March and April into Connaught and Annally O'Farrell, to plunder the recent English settlements there, and to burn and destroy their castles. These movements Hugh Roe executed with such rapidity that he escaped any serious collision with the English forces.

Norris landed at Waterford on 4th May, 1595. He was a sufferer from ague, and a bad sea-passage brought on an

attack. He was unable to reach Dublin for some weeks, and as he was about to enter the city his horse fell, an accident which brought on another attack. As soon as Sir John Norris and his troops arrived, an expedition to the north was prepared, and Tyrone relinquished the Blackwater fort after destroying the works and burning the town of Dungannon, including his own house. He had intended to make a great stronghold, fortified "by the device of a Spaniard that he had with him, but in the end employed those masons that were entertained for builders up, for pullers down of that his house, and that in so great a haste, as the same overnight mustering very stately and high in the state of all our army, the very next day by noon it was so low that it could scarcely be discerned". The English army marched beyond Armagh, until they came in view of the entrenched camp of the Irish, when they returned to Armagh, where they placed a strong garrison in the cathedral, and strengthened the fortifications; the Lord Deputy then announced that he had fulfilled Her Majesty's order, and would now leave Ulster matters to Sir John Norris, according to his commission, and returned to Dublin, where, on the 28th of June, he proclaimed Tyrone a traitor by the name of Hugh O'Neill, son of Matthew Ferdoragh, or the blacksmith.

There are some important circumstances connected with these first movements in the north. The Four Masters state that Tyrone had invited O'Donnell to join him, and that they marched to Faughard, near Dundalk, to have a parley with the Deputy, who, however, did not come; while from the English accounts it would appear that Tyrone had written letters both to Russell and to Norris proposing to meet and confer with them on the occasion, but that the letters were intercepted by Bagenal. Thus the Lord Deputy proclaimed Tyrone a traitor in ignorance of the overtures which the latter had made.

The army returned to Dundalk without having effected

anything, and on the 18th of July a Council was held at that town, when the Lord Deputy, "from that time forward, rendered the prosecution of the war absolutely to Sir John Norris according to Her Majesty's commission, with the determination wholly to attend to the defence of the Pale, while Sir Richard Bingham should attend to Connaught, 1000 foot and 100 horse being daily expected out of England. Wherewith the Council ended, the army dissolved, and every man returned well wearied towards his own dwelling, that had any."

The Queen, being disgusted with the course the war was taking, was now anxious to open negotiations, and Tyrone was desirous to arrange matters on reasonable terms, or, if that could not be done, to waste as much time as possible. The object of the Government was to induce the various chiefs to negotiate separately, and thus, if possible, to break up the confederacy; but, on the other hand, Tyrone was resolved that the confederates should be represented by himself alone, and all should be included in the one arrangement. Formally the English succeeded, for different demands were sent in by the several chiefs, but practically Tyrone carried his point, for all the demands were evidently drawn up by preconcerted arrangement, and all the communications appear to have been made through him.

The Queen's directions plainly prove that she was beginning to realize how formidable a task lay before her. On the 12th September the English Privy Council had written "that the Earl had presumed to make himself the advocate for the rest, especially O'Donnell, &c., but Her Majesty would have him simply implore mercy for himself, divided from all show of greatness in dominion over her subjects.—Direct Sir John Norris to let the traitor find that what he will do most quickly, must be offered by him apart, in which kind Her Majesty will not refuse to hear the others severally by themselves, upon free and absolute submission. That vile and base traitor was

raised out of the dust by Herself. If he will singly and simply receive pardon of his life, Her Majesty is content that you should pardon him with the conditions enclosed." These conditions were, Tyrone should be assured of pardon for his life on submission, he was to reveal all past and abjure future foreign practices, he was not to make suit for pardon of the other rebels, Her Majesty was to treat with the rebels singly and simply without any combination; as to his future living he was to trust to Her Majesty's grace.

O'Donnell this year (1595) had obtained several successes in the West. These raised the hopes and confidence of the Irish. The castle of Sligo was given up to him by Ulick Burke, who had held it for the English, and who took this step after slaying George Bingham, who had twice saved him from being hanged. Bingham, it appears, manned and armed a ship with which he pillaged the coast of Tirconnell, plundering the Carmelite monastery at Rathmullen, and the church of St. Columb-cille, on Tory Island, and on his return from this expedition an altercation took place between Bingham and Burke, as to the share of the spoils to which the Irish section of the crew were entitled, and Burke stabbed Bingham to the heart.

Six hundred Scots now arrived in Lough Foyle, under MacLeod of Ara, and entered O'Donnell's service, and with these he scoured Connaught as far as Tuam and Dunmore, returning into Donegal through Costello and Sligo, thus avoiding Sir Richard Bingham, who hoped to intercept him in the Curlieu mountains. Sir Richard, who was accompanied by the Earls of Thomond and Clanrickard, with their contingents, followed Red Hugh as far as Sligo, and laid siege to the castle, which was bravely defended by O'Donnell's garrison. He attempted to sap the walls under cover of a testudo or penthouse, constructed from timber taken from the neighbouring monastery, but the warders hurled down rocks and fired at the sappers from the battlements, destroying

their appliances and compelling them to raise the siege and depart. O'Donnell then demolished the castle, that it might not fall in the future into the hands of the English, dismissed his Scottish mercenaries, and returned home.

An attempt made by Sir John Norris and his brother to re-victual Armagh was defeated by the Earl of Tyrone. Both Norrises were wounded and obliged to retreat to Newry, but they succeeded soon after in throwing relief into Monaghan, where an English garrison had fortified themselves in the monastery. In the return march from Monaghan the royal troops were attacked at Clontibert, and a desperate fight took place, in which several of the English were slain and the remainder escaped with difficulty to Newry, from which town a rescue party was sent to succour them. There were Scots with Tyrone whose arrows proved very effective, and the Irish horse were much more active than the English. Norris himself was shot in the arm and side, and his horse was severely wounded. "I have a lady's hurt," he said, and added: "I pray, brother, make the place good if you love me, and I will new horse myself and return presently; and I pray charge home."

In this battle a body of English cavalry, gallantly led by an Anglo-Irishman named James Segrave, spurred fiercely across the little river which runs by Clontibert. Segrave was a man of great size and strength, and, espying Tyrone, he charged him at full speed. Tyrone met him in full career, and the lances of both were shivered in the shock of impact. Segrave, trusting to his enormous physical power, then grasped Tyrone round the neck and pulled him from his horse. Both fell to the ground, and, struggling fiercely, rolled over each other; but Tyrone contrived to seize his dagger, and, plunging it into Segrave's groin, killed his antagonist. Thus ended a combat "of which", O'Sullivan Beare says, "both armies stood spectators".

While Tyrone was crossing swords with the Lord Deputy

in his new character of proclaimed traitor, the aged Turlough Lynnagh died. He had some years before resigned the position of Chieftain, but in order to attract public attention to the fact, Tyrone, when the news reached him, went to Tullahogue without delay to be invested as the O'Neill. The Annalists state that he had been appointed heir "ten years before at the Parliament held in Dublin in the name of Queen Elizabeth". "But it is", says Mr. Bagwell, "quite untrue that Tyrone was made tanist by Act of Parliament, and the Four Masters themselves record that Tirlogh had resigned in his favour more than two years before." In 1587 it had been proposed to make Turlough Earl of Omagh, and thus make a divided Tyrone permanent. The effect of Turlough's death was to leave Tyrone chief of Ulster.

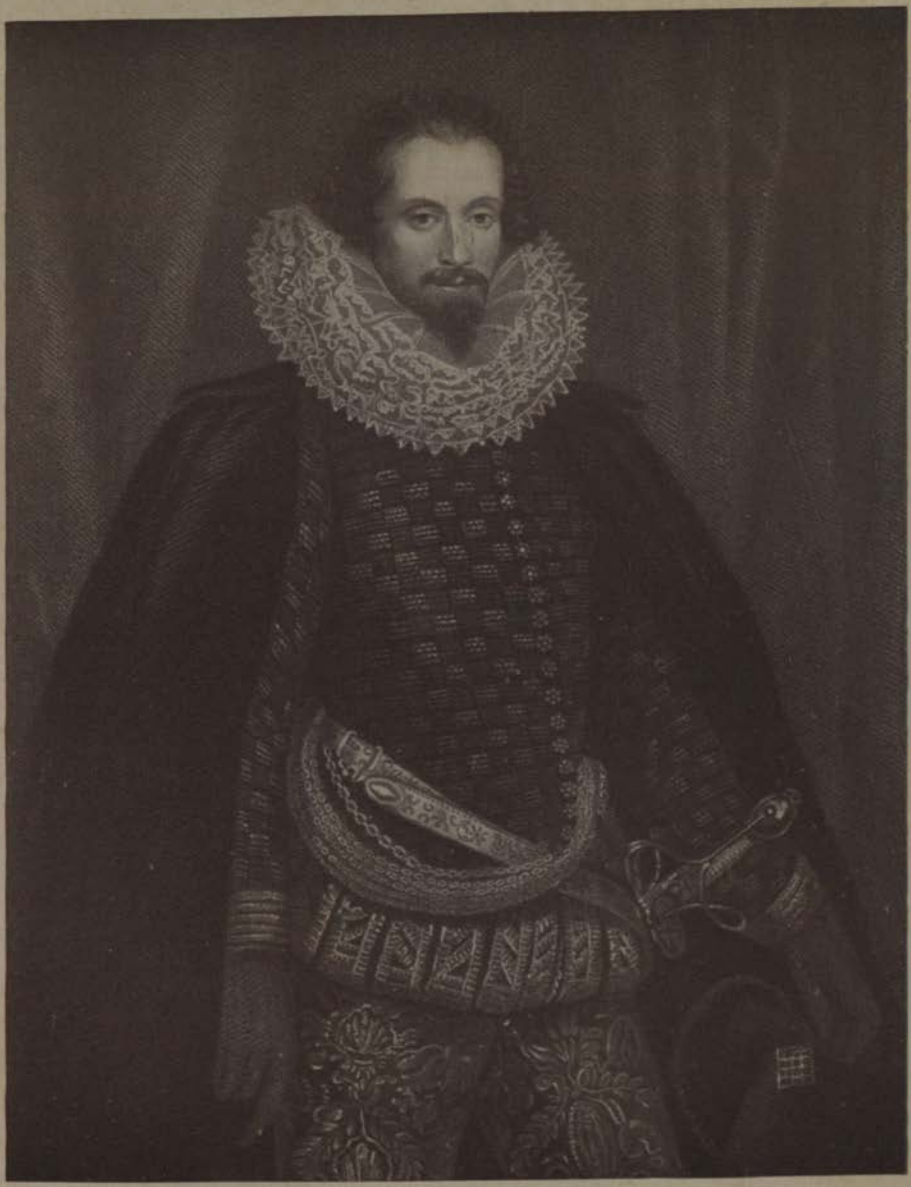
CHAPTER VI

Negotiations *ad nauseam*!

Negotiations between Confederated Chiefs and Her Majesty's Commissioners—They meet in an Open Field—The Irish Chieftains formulate their Demands—Tyrone asks for Aid from Spain—Differences between Russell and Norris—Fresh Negotiations—Fenton and Norris meet Tyrone and O'Donnell—The Demands of the Irish—The Lord Deputy fears Treachery.

Tyrone had hitherto acted chiefly on the defensive, and when Commissioners were appointed by the Queen to treat with the confederated chiefs, he entered into the negotiations with zest and alacrity. The Commissioners were the treasurer, Sir Henry Wallop, and Chief Justice Sir Robert Gardiner, with whom the northern leaders conferred in an open field near Dundalk. The Irish chiefs made such representations of their grievances that the Commissioners confessed some of them were reasonable enough, but said these should be referred to the Queen, and the confederates, having no confidence in the English Government, and having learnt to be self-reliant, broke off the conference. This occurred in July, and the mutual distrust displayed may be clearly seen in the fact that Tyrone refused under any conditions to enter the town. Swords only were worn. "The forces of either side stood a quarter of a mile distant from them, and while they parleyed on horseback two horsemen of the Commissioners stood firm in the midway between the Earl's troops, and them, and likewise two horsemen of the Earl's were placed between them and Her Majesty's forces. These scout officers were to give warning if any treacherous attempt were made on either part."

This historic meeting was attended not alone by Tyrone and his brother Cormac, but also by O'Donnell, Maguire, MacMahon, O'Dogherty, and O'Reilly. The demand of the chiefs was "free liberty of conscience", an elastic term which might include a preference for the rule of Philip of Spain to that of Elizabeth of England. Free pardons were demanded, and also the supremacy of Tyrone in Ulster. Sheriffs were not to be appointed in Ulster, save in Newry and Carrickfergus, and the plea put forward was that by the suggested concessions the Irish chieftains would be drawn "to a more nearness of loyalty". Such concessions as these meant little less than an abrogation of royal authority in Ulster. Negotiations were protracted and lasted for months. At last a fresh truce was determined on extending to April. The Lord Deputy considered the terms too lenient, considering that the Irish chiefs were avowed rebels, and the Queen was highly incensed, and on the 8th of January, 1596, wrote to the Deputy and Council: "We see by your collections, that his rebellion has been favoured throughout the kingdom, and therefore can hardly be extinguished without great effusion of blood. If you find that the principal ringleaders will not submit unless the rest be pardoned, you may grant to Tyrone, O'Donnell, and all the rest, named in your letters, our free pardon, upon condition that they shall all come in and submit themselves. We leave their lands and goods to your discretion. For the speedy conclusion of a general quiet, you may ratify whatever may soonest effect the same. Make all the conditions as honourable to us as you may, and especially that our revenue in Monaghan be still answered to us. Spend no useless time in staying for directions from us. Discover whether this late protraction of Tyrone and O'Donnell's coming in were only out of desire to draw this remission to their companions, or whether it be a plot to temporize until they have received foreign aid. Delay is Dangerous." Elizabeth was particularly annoyed at the fact that the Commissioners addressed



ROBERT DEVEREUX, EARL OF ESSEX

After the painting by Nicholas Hilliard

Tyrone and his associates by such titles as "loving friends" and "our very good lord".

Tyrone had, as the Queen suspected, been in communication with Spain. On the 17th September, 1595, he had written to Philip that their only hope of re-establishing the Catholic religion lay with him; now or never the Church should be succoured; that 2000 or 3000 troops might be sent before the feast of St. Philip and St. James; with such aid they hoped to restore the faith of the Church, and to secure him a kingdom. To Don Carolo he wrote that with the aid of 3000 soldiers the faith might be established within one year in Ireland, the heretics would disappear, and no other sovereign be recognized save the King Catholic. Philip, in response, promised in a letter dated the 22nd of January, 1596, to send assistance.

Gardiner repaired to England to lay before the Queen the results of the meeting at Dundalk, but Elizabeth, being vexed, refused, womanlike, to see him. When at last she consented to hear the Chief Justice, she expressed great displeasure, declaring that what Tyrone asked for was "liberty to break laws, which Her Majesty will never grant to any subject of any degree".

Differences had long prevailed between the Lord General, Sir John Norris, and the Lord Deputy, Sir William Russell. The former, says Leland, "had judgment and equity to discern that the hostilities of the Irish had been provoked by several instances of wanton insolence and oppression". The Deputy, who appears to have been jealous of the fame of Norris, adopted opposite views, and insisted on a "rigorous persecution of the rebels". The opinions of Norris became popular in England, and a commission was issued to him and Sir Geoffrey Fenton to treat with the confederates. Terms of submission were agreed on, and promises of pardon given; but the Annalists tell us that the Irish did not regard this arrangement of differences as conclusive. Russell gave out

that he would go to the North himself, and Norris was in despair. "The mere bruit", he cried, "will cross us, and I am sure to meet as many other blocks in my way as any invention can find out. I know the Deputy will not spare to do anything that might bring me in disgrace, and remove me from troubling his conscience here."

Sir Geoffrey Fenton was of opinion that Tyrone and O'Donnell would most likely "stand upon their barbarous custom to commune with us in the wild fields". And so it proved. "On the 17th of January, 1596, the Earl announced the arrival of O'Donnell and most of the Irish chieftains, and prayed the Commissioners to come to a place called the Narrow Acre, while he came to a place adjoining, called the Black Staff. This they refused to do, and commanded him to come to Dundalk under Her Majesty's protection; but Tyrone made answer that he would not come to Dundalk, but would come to any other indifferent place.

"On the 19th the Commissioners wrote to the Earl, reproving his fears, and requesting him to set down in writing his offers and demands. If these should be acceptable to Her Majesty, they assured him of her gracious pardon for his life, lands, and goods, and also for the rest of his confederates.

"The next day the Commissioners, having in their company the Sheriff, Sir H. Duke, and Gerald Moore—in all, five—met with Tyrone and O'Donnell a mile out of Dundalk, none of either side having any other weapons than their swords. The forces of either side stood a quarter of a mile distant from them; and while they parlied, which was on horseback, two horsemen of the Commissioners stood firm in the midway between the Earl's troops and them, and likewise two horsemen of the Earl's was placed between them and Her Majesty's forces. These scout officers were to give warning if any treacherous attempt were made on either side. The treaty continued three hours. The Earl and O'Donnell stood

still in their demands, and the Commissioners upon the negative; and they departed without any important conclusion, agreeing to meet at the same place the day following."

One of the Commissioners succeeded to "parling" with O'Donnell separately; "but O'Donnell was most resolute".

At the second meeting the Commissioners found them as men exceeding fearful, continually gazing about, their spies riding near them, and less attentive to their speeches than at the first.

"'Then', said we, 'what cause had you, O'Donnell, to enter into rebellion, the rather Her Majesty making account that you and ancestors had been always loyal?' Unto which he said he had been unjustly long imprisoned. Also he said that Willis, with great strength, sought not only to invade Fermanagh, Maguire's country, being his next neighbour, which warned him that the like would happen unto himself, but also came upon the borders of his own country. Also he feared the great extortion of Sheriffs and officers if his country should be under laws, which he found true by experience of other parts.

"Also the Earl said: 'why was Philip Hore so long imprisoned, and no cause alleged upon him?' Unto all which we answered: 'Touching the imprisonment of you, O'Donnell, and of O'Reilly, if there were no cause to touch you in disloyalty, yet all princes in policy may and do use to take their subjects in pledge for the peace of their countries; and you both, being but subjects, do use the like, and therefore should the less dislike of that course.' Then said the Earl: 'Why do you then take great sums of money for their deliverance, as you have done of O'Reilly?' We said the Queen did freely set him at liberty. 'That is true,' they said, 'but others had it.' 'Neither', said we, 'do we know it true or believe it.' But they still said they could prove it true, and inveighed greatly against such bribing, as they termed it. And we said, as touching Willis, his proceedings and the corruption of

officers, it was without warrant, and Her Majesty's officers would many times be evil like their own. And after many other speeches had thereof with persuasion, that which was amiss should be remedied, we ended these parts.

"Then we entered into speeches touching their general demands, which we have formerly sent unto your lordship, saying: 'We, on Tuesday last, willed you to make them more reasonable, unto which you this last day sent us word you could not dare then to alter them, but since we hear not again thereof from you'. Unto which the Earl said: 'I will deal again with my associates, to see if they will agree to any change of them, and send you them to-morrow'. 'Then', said we, because we would as well alter their manner as their matter of these demands, 'the course you hold, in setting down your demands in that manner you have done, can neither be allowed or answered by us, because it is joint, and that you would have all the rest depend upon the peace of you the Earl only. And you, the Earl,' we said, 'had in all your letters to the State mentioned you would deal but for Tyrone, and O'Donnell for Tyrconnel, and every one of the rest for their own peace.

"'Neither could we deal with you, O'Donnell, for Connaught causes, because they were to make their own peace, agreeing with your (the Earl's) letter. Neither yet touching the Breny causes, for the Breny is, was, and ought to be under only Her Majesty's immediate obedience. And our Commission could not take knowledge of Philip O'Relye's being with you, nor of any title he had or could make for himself by law or custom. And we marvelled in any manner why you meant in your articles to mention anything touching M'Genny's country, who had the same by patent, and in his lifetime never complained of any grievances to himself or to his country; and which country was now descended upon his eldest son according to his father's patent.' Upon which O'Donnell answered: 'But there is another now claiming the

same by ancient custom of the country, who is with us'. 'If custom', said we, 'should prevail, neither O'Relye in the Breny nor yourself have interest in Tyrconnel, so as we perceive you do now not stand upon your own customs.' Upon which he answered not, but smiled. And we said unto the Earl: 'What intend you to claim by patent, or by custom to the disherison of your children?' Unto which the Earl mutteringly answered: 'That shall come in question hereafter'. We gathered he would not fully answer, because O'Donnell was present; and although we divided them the first day, as we have signified, yet now we perceive they intend not to have speech, but both being present, and to assent to no more than to what they all shall agree.

"In the conclusion of our parley, we required them, for the reasons aforesaid, to set down dividedly all the causes of their grievances, their demands and offers, and thereupon we would answer them so reasonably as we hoped should be to their satisfaction; and this present morning they have sent unto us their demands for M'Mahon, as they term him, and of every Mac with the griefs, because as they say, there began the cause of their complaints, which we send enclosed, by which it appeareth Her Majesty, besides her interest with the royalties, shall yearly lose about £500 sterling, besides the Earl of Essex to lose the benefit of his lands of Ferny. The rest of their demands in likelyhood be of the same nature. We will keep them together by means of delays until we discover how far they will be drawn, and their further intentions."

Although small satisfaction could be got out of either Tyrone or O'Donnell, and O'Rourke ran away after signing the articles, Maguire, with several lesser chieftains, went to Dundalk and submitted. Thus we have again, at a critical time in her history, the spectacle of a divided Ireland. The Lord Deputy, on the other hand, had good cause to complain of the War Lord, Norris. Russell acknowledged that the

Queen was put to great expense in Ireland, and that there was very little to show for it, "which", he said, "is not to be laid to my charge, but unto his who being sent specially to manage the war, and for that cause remaining here about a twelvemonth, hath in that time spent nine months at the least in cessations and treaties of peace, either by his own device contrary to my liking, as ever doubting the end would prove but treacherous, or else by directions from thence".

CHAPTER VII

Tyrone's Catholic Crusade

Spanish Aid for Ulster arrives at Killybegs—Tyrone sends the King of Spain's Letter for Inspection to the Lord Deputy—It is retained despite a Promise to return—Connaught invaded by O'Donnell—Tyrone starts a Catholic Crusade—His Manifesto to Roman Catholics—Sir William Russell retires—Thomas, Lord Burgh appointed Lord Deputy—He arrives in Dublin—Sir John Norris retires—Lamentable State of the Pale.

Scarcely had the cessation of arms been agreed upon by the Ulster chiefs and the Queen's commissioners when three Spanish frigates arrived in Donegal Bay, bringing encouraging letters from the King of Spain, and a supply of arms and ammunition addressed especially to O'Donnell. Tyrone is charged by the English with having communicated to Fiagh MacHugh and the other Leinster insurgents the news of the promises held out by Spain, at the same time that he sent to the Lord Deputy, as an evidence of the sincerity of his submission, the letter which he had received from the Spanish monarch. Such charges of dissimulation, so frequently reiterated against Tyrone, are unsupported by evidence. The facts are these. Captain Warren, who, with Captain St. Leger, had acted as intermediary between the commissioners and the northern chieftains, stayed with Tyrone for nearly a month after the departure of Norris and Fenton for Dundalk. At the end of the month he repaired to Dublin, bearing with him a letter from Philip of Spain to Tyrone—a letter in which the Spanish monarch encouraged the Earl to persevere in his defence of the Catholic cause against the English.

Warren had promised that this letter should be returned or burned, no copy being taken, Tyrone having entrusted the missive to him on those conditions; but the Lord-Deputy wished to retain the document, in which outrageous decision he was supported by the Council, only Norris and Fenton dissenting. Warren was annoyed and disgusted that he should be forced to be a party to such a manifest breach of faith, as he had promised the Earl to keep the document in his possession, and merely present it to the Lord Deputy for inspection and return. Finally Tyrone was thanked for giving such a proof of the sincerity of his loyalty, and begged to give further evidence as to the intentions of his Spanish Majesty towards Ireland. Tyrone, in reply, declared that the Lord Deputy and the Council had broken their word, and had made Warren break his, "where", said he, "if I be honourably and well dealt with, I shall refer myself to the answer of her most excellent Majesty". The letter having been addressed to O'Donnell, he too was indignant at this high-handed proceeding, and wrote to say that he wished for peace, but could not restrain his men, and could give no pledge, "inasmuch as Captain Warren performed not his promise in not returning the letter he took with him to Dublin upon his word and credit".

The Spanish ships put into Killybegs, and the King's Messenger, Alonzo de Cobos, came forty miles inland to meet Tyrone and O'Donnell. A meeting was held, amongst those present being the principals, and Tyrone's brother Cormac, his secretary, Henry Hovenden, and O'Dogherty. An interpreter was employed, who, when his duties terminated, spread abroad information regarding the proceedings, which included the dictation of a letter by Cormac to Philip asking for 500 men. The Pope sent relics, and an indulgence, permitting the eating of meat every day during active warfare. The several chiefs present now signed an invitation to the King of Spain to invade Ireland. Tyrone,

however, only intimated verbally his accession to the league.

While Tyrone was inactive in Ulster, Connaught was the scene of the wildest commotions. Towards the close of 1596 O'Conor Sligo returned, after a long stay in England, and manifested a zealous and ostentatious loyalty. His old feudatories, MacDonough of Tirerill, and O'Hart, were detached by his influence from the Catholic cause, and these examples, together with the popularity of Sir Conyers Clifford, greatly strengthened the English ranks in the west. O'Donnell took immediate steps to punish the defection. In December, 1596, he crossed the river at Sligo, and swept off every head of cattle belonging to the friends of O'Conor; and the following January he returned with a much larger force and overran Connaught. He burned the gates of Athenry and pillaged the town; and all the territory of Clanrickard was plundered by him as far as Maree, Oranmore, and the walls of Galway. He then returned home laden with spoils, routing on his way a force which O'Conor Sligo had collected to intercept him.

A Holy War was now started by Tyrone's issuing a letter calling upon his co-religionists to help him. "We have given oath and vow", he wrote, "that whosoever of the Irishry, especially of the gentlemen of Munster, or whosoever else, from the highest to the lowest, shall assist Christ's Catholic religion, and join in confederacy and make war with us . . . we will be to them a back or stay, warrant or surety, for their so aiding of God's just cause, and by our said oath and vow, never to conclude peace or war with the English, for ourselves or any of us, during our life, but that the like shall be concluded for you," &c. Essex had told Tyrone that he had as much religion as his horse, but whatever Tyrone's own ideas about religion were, it is quite evident that out of Ulster he was regarded as the leader of a crusade.

A little later he published a manifesto to the Catholics of the towns throughout the entire country, warning them of

"the great calamity and misery into which they were likely to fall by persevering in the damnable state in which they had been living". If they did persevere, he told them, he should use means to despoil them of their goods and to dispossess them of their lands, because the towns were the means whereby wars were maintained against the exaltation of the Catholic faith.

On the other hand, if they joined him, Tyrone assured his co-religionists upon his conscience that he would employ himself to the utmost of his power in their defence, "as well as for the extirpation of heresy, the planting of the Catholic religion, the delivery of the country from infinite murders, wicked and detestable policies by which this kingdom was hitherto governed, nourished in obscurity and ignorance, maintained in barbarity and incivility". Therefore he thought himself in conscience bound to use all means for the reduction of that poor afflicted country to the Catholic faith, which never could be brought to any good pass without either the destruction or the helping hand of the Catholics of the *towns*.

The Earl further protested that he did not want the lands or goods of those to whom he addressed himself, nor would he plant any in their places if they would only join him. He declared "upon his salvation" that he chiefly and principally fought for the Catholic faith to be planted throughout all their poor country, as well in cities and elsewhere, protesting that "if he had to be King of Ireland without having the Catholic religion established, he would not the same accept".

He exhorted them to follow the example of "that most Catholic country, France, whose subjects, for defect of Catholic faith, did go against their most natural king, and maintained wars till he was constrained to profess the Catholic religion, duly submitting himself to the Apostolic See of Rome, to the which, doubtless, he might bring his

country, the Catholics of the towns putting their helping hands with him to the same". He concluded, this man with the religious sentiment of a horse: "As for myself, I protest before God and upon my salvation I have been proffered oftentimes such conditions as no man seeking his own private commodity could refuse; but I, seeking the public utility of my native country, will prosecute these wars until general religion be planted throughout all Ireland. So I rest, praying the Almighty to move your flinty hearts to prefer the commodity and profit of your country before your own private ends."

On the 22nd of May, 1597, Sir William Russell was succeeded as Lord Deputy by Thomas, Lord Burgh, Governor of Brill, who, like his predecessor in the Viceroyalty, had fought in the Flanders campaign, in which he had served with distinction; but for a while his appointment hung fire. "The Queen", says one informant on the subject, "hastens the Lord Burgh's dispatch, but by and by it is forgotten; it lives some day or two, and lies a-dying twenty days. Many will not believe it till they see him go; but it is very certain that no one gives it furtherance but the Queen's own resolution; and his standing upon an imprest of £3000., and a house furnished, makes Her Majesty let it fall."

Elizabeth, who cannot be too highly praised for her womanly love of economy, at last consented to give her new representative in Ireland the sum of £1200 for immediate needs. He was also given £24,000 for the Irish treasury. Financially he was now in a satisfactory position, but his health was far from satisfactory. "I am", he said to Cecil, "cut all over my legs with the lancet, and have abidden loathsome worms to suck my flesh." In spite of his sufferings Burgh kept a brave face, and was accompanied as far as St. Albans by Ralegh, Southampton, and other distinguished men, who no doubt diverted him and kept him free

from painful reflections. On the very day of his departure he called on Essex at Barnes, and returned to London accompanied by the Earl, who placed his coach at his disposal. Opening his dispatches on the way, he was annoyed to find that an additional article, which he had not hitherto seen, had been tacked on to his instructions. Knighthoods had, in the Queen's opinion, been given so freely as to dishonour Her Majesty; Burgh was therefore commanded not to knight "any but such as shall be, both of blood and livelihood, sufficient to maintain that calling, except at some notable day of service to bestow it [knighthood] for reward upon some such as in the field have extraordinarily deserved it."

Twelve days after he left London the new Lord Deputy arrived in Dublin. Here he found much to complain of. Supplies were lacking, the numerical strength of the army below par, and the horses in a condition which rendered them more fit to be slaughtered than to be used in the field. Rumour had been rife to the effect that Sir John Norris, the War Lord, who was no friend of Burgh, resented his being entrusted not alone with the civil but also the military government of the country, and that he declined to serve under the newly-appointed Viceroy. Rumour was, however, in error, for when the general arrived in Dublin, four days after the entrance of Burgh, the latter wrote to Cecil that he was gratified at the result of their first interview. "Sir John Norris and I", he wrote, "have in public council and private conferences agreed well. I think you wrote to him to become compatible." The ubiquitous pressman, or newswriter, of the day has, of course, something to say, and relying on his imagination for his facts in retailing the Court gossip of the hour, he refers to a solemn pacification between War Lord and Viceroy, "made with much counterfeit kindness on both sides". Be that as it may, there is no doubt that one of the first acts of the new Deputy was to deprive

Sir John Norris of his command, and to send him to govern Munster with his brother. The gallant veteran, who, while in office, had indeed performed no service worthy of his great military reputation, soon after died broken-hearted.

Lord Burgh found Dublin indeed a "city of dreadful night", and, writing to Cecil of the universal misery, declares it to be "lamentable to hear as I am sure in your ears, but woeful to behold to Christian eyes. I see soldiers, citizens, villagers, and all sorts of people daily perish through famine; meat failing the man of war makes him savage, so as the end is both spoiler and spoiled are in like calamity." Such was the state of the Pale in the initial stage of Burgh's Viceroyalty.

CHAPTER VIII

"The Tide of Battle"

War declared against Tyrone—Siege of Ballyshannon—Siege of Blackwater Fort—Death of Lord Burgh—Death of Sir John Norris—O'Donnell's Depredations in Connaught—Trouble at Carrickfergus—Belfast taken by Shane MacBrian O'Neill—James MacSorley, son of Sorley Boy, and his brother Randal—Sir John Chichester killed—The Council appoint Sir Thomas Norris—The Queen appoints Lord Ormonde Lieutenant-General—Tyrone submits.

War was now declared. Lord Burgh ordered a great muster of forces at Drogheda on the 20th of July, and, marching at their head, crossed the Blackwater without opposition. Tyrone, with 800 foot and 80 horse, had, a little earlier, been encamped between Newry and Armagh, when Captain Turner attacked him suddenly, and so surprised the Earl that he was obliged to make his escape on foot through a bog, in doing which he lost his hat; whereupon Turner dryly remarked: "I trust it presages his head against the next time". When Burgh reached the famous ford over the Blackwater he also determined to surprise the enemy, and, selecting 1200 foot and 300 horse, he started at sunrise and at once undertook the passage. His men hesitated, but despite his ill-health, he gallantly led them on, and they pushed forward. The defenders, dismayed at the audacity displayed by the English, fled, and Tyrone in wrath hanged some score of them.

There is no doubt that this signal victory was the result of Burgh's personal courage, and was due solely to his cheery lead. A wary watch was kept for a reprisal, and a sudden attack made by Tyrone was, being thus anticipated, defeated. There were, however, many volunteers in Burgh's army, and

many who were merely "playing at soldiers", with the result, when Tyrone came down "like a wolf on the fold", several casualties occurred, Captain Turner being killed, and also Sir Francis Vaughan, Burgh's brother-in-law. Two of his nephews were wounded, and the losses heavy. Burgh, with indomitable courage, rushed to the rescue, rallied his forces, and saved the situation, defeating the Irish and changing defeat to victory. He had been accused of rashness and foolhardiness in the Netherlands, and anticipated criticism by saying: "I have not that wherein my Lord of Essex is and all generals be in a journey happy, scarcely any of such understanding as to do what they be bidden; as he hath many: When I direct, for want of others I must execute".

The Lord Deputy had directed Sir Conyers Clifford, who had succeeded Bingham as Governor of Connaught, to make a simultaneous movement against O'Donnell, and accordingly the loyalist forces of Connaught assembled on the 24th of July at the monastery of Boyle. They marched to Sligo, and thence to the Erne, which, after some hard fighting, they crossed at the ford of Ath-cul-uain, about half a mile west of Belleek. Murrough O'Brien, Baron of Inchiquin, was shot by the Irish while half across the ford, the bullet passing under one arm and out at the other. He fell from his horse and perished in the waters.

Clifford, having obtained some cannon by sea from Galway, laid siege to the castle of Ballyshannon, which was defended with great bravery for O'Donnell by Hugh Crawford, a Scot, with eighty soldiers, of whom some were Spaniards and the rest Irish. An incessant fire was kept up on the castle for three days, and, under the shelter of a testudo, an attempt was made to sap the walls; but the beams and rocks hurled from the battlements by the defenders demolished the works of the assailants, and O'Donnell, arriving with a considerable force, besieged the Queen's forces in their own camp.

At the dawn of day on the 15th of August, Clifford noise-

lessly recrossed the Erne at a ford immediately above the cataract of Assaroe, over which several of his men were washed by the impetuosity of the torrent and drowned. O'Donnell, regretting the carelessness which suffered the enemy to escape, pursued Clifford across the river, his men and he not even stopping to put their clothes on; but Clifford reached Drumcliff in Sligo without much further loss. The English had no powder and were completely outnumbered, but torrents of rain fell and wetted the ammunition of the Irish. The royal army in retreating abandoned three pieces of ordnance and a large quantity of stores. Maguire and O'Rourke were both with O'Donnell in this affair. Clifford marched on foot in the rear. He was disgusted with this semi-barbarous method of warfare, and begged to be transferred to take part in some other war without delay.

The Irish naturally were elated at so signal a success. Tyrone laid siege to the new Blackwater fort, but in storming it by the aid of scaling ladders—which proved to be too short—he lost thirty of his men, and then resolved to starve the garrison into submission, and Captain Williams and his men had a hard time. The storming party were picked soldiers, who first received the Sacrament, and were sworn not to abandon their task till they had carried the fort, but they lost all their ladders and about 400 men were either wounded or killed. Burgh, on the news reaching him at Dublin, at once marched to the relief of the beleaguered garrison, and reached Armagh without opposition. He succeeded in raising the siege and throwing in relief both in men and provisions.

Burgh, who was a martyr to swollen legs, was taken suddenly ill, and after victualling and relieving Blackwater he had to be carried in a litter to Armagh. From Armagh he was carried to Newry, where, realizing the seriousness of his illness, he made a will in the presence, amongst others, of John Dymmok, author of a well-known treatise on Ireland. He named Bagenal and Cecil as executors, and left all he

possessed to his wife, Lady Frances, for whom and for his children he prayed the Queen's protection, "myself having spent my patrimony and ended my days in her service". This will was unsigned, for Burgh's strength failed as the concluding sentence which he had dictated was being put on paper. He died 13th of October, 1597. Bagenal, being on the spot, had in his capacity as executor to arrange for a funeral. He was somewhat perplexed as to what he should do, matters being somewhat complicated by Burgh's servants decamping.

The Queen, by the death of Lord Burgh, lost an able and faithful servant. She had already lost another. Sir John Norris retired to his province of Munster, which he reported to be in a very poor state of defence. Elizabeth could not spare the money needed, and as there was no immediate risk of hostilities on the part of Spain, Norris begged leave to recruit his health, at the same time stating that he was willing to remain at his post if his presence was required. He forwarded to Burgh, unopened, a letter he had received from Tyrone, and urged that the rebel should be well pressed during the summer, and added: "I am not envious though others shall reap the fruits of my travail, an ordinary fortune of mine". He died on 9th of September, 1597, of gangrene, which supervened the unskilful treatment of old and neglected wounds.

Meanwhile O'Donnell plundered the lands of O'Conor Roe, who had joined the English party, and this produced some jealousy between O'Donnell and O'Rourke, who was friendly to O'Conor. Hugh Maguire and Cormac, brother of Tyrone, entered Westmeath and sacked and burned Mullingar. Theobald, son of Walter Kittagh Burke, re-took the territory of MacWilliam and plundered the Owles or O'Malley's country. Tyrrell, at the head of the Leinster insurgents, devastated Ormonde and cut to pieces a large body of the royal troops at Maryborough; in short the country was almost wholly in the hands of the Catholics.

At Carrickfergus, which was an exposed place, there had lately been many bickerings among the authorities, insomuch that Captain Rice Maunsell, who commanded the troops, imprisoned Charles Egerton, constable of the castle. One consequence was that Belfast fell into the hands of Shane MacBrian O'Neill, who hanged and disembowelled every Englishman found therein.

"Belfast", said Sir John Chichester, a younger brother of the better-known Sir Arthur, and Governor of Carrickfergus, "is a place which standeth eight miles from Carrickfergus, and on the river, where the sea ebbs and flows, so that boats may be landed within a butte (musket) shot of the said castle; for the recovery whereof I made choice that it should be one of my first works; and on the eleventh day of July following attempted the same with some hundred men, which I transported thither in boats by sea; and indeed our coming was so unlooked for by them as it asked us no long time before we took the place, without any loss to us, and put those we found in it to the sword."

Carrickfergus was soon the scene of active hostilities. Donnell and Alaster MacDonnell, sons of Sorley Boy, being dead, the chief of the Irish MacDonnells at this time was James MacSorley. He had been patronized by King James VI, at whose Court he was favourably received, and the King had as a special mark of favour lately knighted him. MacDonnell and his younger brother Randal now appeared at Carrickfergus, and having demolished their castles at Glenarm and Red Bay, they concentrated their strength at Dunluce, which they armed with three guns taken from the Spanish Armada. Chichester's attention being drawn to their suspicious proceedings, he demanded the surrender of these guns, especially as he noticed a somewhat superfriendly feeling to exist between Randal and Tyrone, whose daughter the former eventually married. The MacDonnells refused to surrender the guns, and Chichester invited them

to a parley to discuss the situation, the immediate cause of which was a complaint that the brothers had been plundering in Island Magee.

The MacDonnells, in response to Chichester's invitation, advanced with about 600 men to within four miles of Carrickfergus, and the Governor marched with all available troops to meet them. His men had done some heavy field work of late and were weary, and their stock of powder was damp. At a council of war held before they started, Lieutenant Moses Hill offered to surprise the enemy in their camp if Chichester consented to delay the attack till nightfall. Captain Merriman, on the contrary, remembering with a glow of pleasure his own feat in capturing some 50,000 head of MacDonnell cattle, was impatient and eager to fight, and begged for immediate action. To this Chichester, when Merriman's plea was backed up by others, willingly consented, and it was resolved to lose no time.

The MacDonnells, on the appearance of the royal troops, beat a hasty retreat, but not to any great distance. They then turned upon Chichester, whom they shot in the shoulder and the leg, and finally killed with a shot in the head; and in a moment the pursued became the pursuers, the English horse and foot being driven in a disorderly rabble back towards the town, their muskets being almost useless, and despair breaking up their ranks. Maunsell and other officers fell, and only two seem to have escaped scatheless. Out of a force of about 300, more than half were killed, and the few survivors either saved their lives by swimming over into Island Magee, or were, as in the case of Captain Constable, taken prisoners. The survivors from the battle and the officers who had remained in reserve selected Egerton as their governor and prepared for an attack, but MacDonnell preferred to assume the airs of one aggrieved, who had only fought in self-defence.

When the news of Burgh's death reached Dublin the Council chose as his successor Sir Thomas Norris, the Presi-

dent of Munster; but this selection, which was made much against his will, was provisional, for a month later the Queen committed the civil duties of the Government to Archbishop Loftus, who was also Lord Chancellor, and Sir Robert Gardiner, Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench, appointing them jointly Lords Justices, and the supreme military government of the country she gave to Ormonde, with the title of Lieutenant-General. Norris the Queen ordered back to his own province.

With Ormonde's appointment fresh negotiations were opened with the recalcitrant Earl of Tyrone, for it was recognized that the appointment would find favour in Tyrone's eyes. "You now represent our person," wrote the Queen to Ormonde, "and have to do with inferior people and base rebels, to whose submission if we in substance shall be content to condescend, we will look to have the same implored in such reverend form as becometh our vassals and such heinous offenders to use, with bended knees and hearts humbled; not as if one prince did treat with another upon even terms of honour or advantage, in using words of peace or war, but of rebellion in them, and mercy in us, for rather than ever it shall appear to the world that in any such sort we will give way to any of their pride, we will cast off either sense or feeling of pity or compassion, and upon what price soever prosecute them to the last hour."

Shortly before Christmas, 1597, the Earls of Ormonde and Thomond, at Tyrone's request, went to Dundalk, and Tyrone submitted to the Queen's representative. "I do", he said, "here acknowledge, upon the knees of my heart, that I am sorry for this my late relapse and defection." There was a three-days' conference, at which O'Donnell, as well as Tyrone, was present. The northern chiefs agreed to a treaty, the terms of which were to be submitted to the Queen, and a truce was to be observed until May, when the royal decision on the points at issue was expected.

CHAPTER IX

Tyrone in the Ascendant

Negotiations between Elizabeth and Tyrone continue—Tyrone pardoned—He refuses to accept the proffered Pardon—Francis Bacon advises Robert, Earl of Essex, to interest himself in Ireland—Tyrone besieges Williams in Blackwater Fort—Sufferings of the Garrison—The Knight Marshal, Sir Henry Bagenal, marches to relieve the Fort—He is slain at the Battle of the Yellow Ford—Total Defeat of the English—Tyrone hailed as the Saviour of his Country.

Until August, 1598, it is impossible to describe the state of Ireland as either peace or war. At one time Tyrone submitted to the Queen's terms, and a pardon was sent over, but when the pardon arrived he would not accept it; the northern garrisons seem to have been in a continual state of blockade; interminable letter-writing went on between the parties without bringing them to any definite agreement; the negotiations were interspersed with some occasional fighting, and a raid into Ulster, with the usual result. This feebleness of the English executive necessarily inspired the Celtic population with the hope of a universal and successful rising, and the belief that Tyrone had at last appeared as the champion of the native tribes. "There is no part of Ulster freed from the poison of this great rebellion; and no country, or chieftain of a country, whom the capital traitor Tyrone hath not corrupted, and drawn into combination with him."

The modifications which Elizabeth required in the terms of peace proposed by Tyrone and O'Donnell and accepted, subject to the Queen's approval, by Ormonde, were received earlier than was expected, and on the 15th March, 1598,

another conference was held with Tyrone in order to communicate them to him. The Earl discussed the several points with a freedom which showed that he knew well the weakness of the Government and his own increased strength. He refused to desert his confederates until they had had time allowed them to come in and submit; he consented to renounce the title of The O'Neill, but reserved the substantial rights of the chieftaincy; he would not give up the sons of Shane O'Neill, as he had not received them into his charge from the State; he agreed to admit a sheriff into Tyrone, provided he was a gentleman of the country, and not appointed immediately; he would surrender political refugees, but not such as fled to his province on account of religious persecution: in addition, he refused to give up his eldest son as hostage.

The independent tone adopted by Tyrone was very galling to the English, but the Earls of Thomond and Clanrickard, with other distinguished Irishmen, were nevertheless delighted to submit his propositions anew to Elizabeth, and the Queen not only consented to abate some of her claims, but Tyrone's pardon was actually drawn up, bearing date 11th April, 1598, and passed under the Great Seal of Ireland; but the result was merely a truce, and within two months open hostilities were resumed. Tyrone was of opinion that the opportunity had arrived to effect the liberation of the country from under English rule. He awaited the long-promised succour from Spain. The national cause was progressing favourably in Ulster, and he feared lest further delay should cool the enthusiasm of the Irish chieftains. He therefore broke off the negotiations, and rejected the proffered pardon—by avoiding the messenger who was sent to convey it to him.

In the meantime all the wit and wisdom of Francis Bacon was employed in persuading Robert, Earl of Essex, to interest himself in Irish affairs. It was pointed out to the Earl, with true Baconian gravity and weight of argument, that, from every point of view, he was the man selected by Fate for the

position, and "if your lordship doubt to put your sickle into another's harvest; first, time brings it to you in Mr. Secretary's absence; next, being mixed with matter of war, it is fittest for you; and lastly, I know your lordship will carry it with that modesty and respect towards aged dignity, and that good correspondence towards my dear kinsman and your good friend now abroad, as no inconvenience may grow that way". In Cecil's absence Essex played the part of Secretary, while Raleigh, Russell, Sir Richard Bingham, Sir Robert Sidney, and Sir Christopher Blount were all mentioned as possible Viceroys; but none of them was willing to go. Bacon's further advice was asked, and his idea was to temporize with Tyrone, strengthening the garrisons and placing confidence in Ormonde, while taking steps to remedy the real abuses from which Ireland suffered. "And", he says, "but that your lordship is too easy to pass in such cases from dissimulation to verity, I think if your lordship lent your reputation in this case—that is to pretend that if peace go not on, and the Queen mean not to make a defensive war as in times past, but a full reconquest of those parts of the country, you would accept the charge—I think it would help to settle Tyrone in his seeking accord, and win you a great deal of honour *gratis*."

On the 7th of June the last truce expired, and two days later Tyrone appeared with a division of his army before the Blackwater fort, "swearing", in the words of Fenton, "by his barbarous hand that he would not depart until he had carried it", while he sent another division into Breffny to attack the castle of Cavan. The fort at Blackwater was but a ditch intended to shelter 100 men. Lord Burgh had left three times that number there, with the natural result of sickness following overcrowding.

There could be no more valiant man than Captain Thomas Williams, who commanded in the unhappy fort, and who resolved to defend his charge to the last man; and

Tyrone, profiting by the lesson which the former vigorous defence had taught him, resolved to make no more assaults, but set about enclosing the fort with vast trenches, to prevent the sorties of foraging parties. These trenches, which were connected with great tracts of bog, were more than a mile in length, and several feet deep, "with a thorny hedge at the top". The approaches to the fort were "plashed", the roads rendered impassable to artillery by trenches, and the Irish army so posted that no force could advance to relieve the garrison without fighting a battle. The fort was scarcely victualled to the end of June, and would have been soon forced by hunger to surrender had not the besieged had the good fortune to seize "divers horses and mares", on the flesh of which they subsisted, not disdaining as an article of food the very grass that grew upon the ramparts.

Long and anxious was the debate at the Council board in Dublin as to the course now to be pursued. The English power in Ireland was in a most critical position. Only a few garrisons remained in all Ulster. Connaught was in arms. A well-organized Irish army, under Captain Tyrrell and other brave and experienced leaders, threatened the seat of the Government in Leinster. The prestige of Tyrone and O'Donnell was becoming every day greater. The latter, remembering his having been treacherously kidnapped, and his long imprisonment in Dublin, entertained a hatred of England which nothing could mitigate; while the former was the more formidable on account of his knowledge of modern warfare, his consummate prudence, and his subtlety as a statesman.

Reinforcements from England arrived at Dungarvan, but in attempting to reach Dublin the troops were attacked by the Irish and lost over 400 men. The English Government of Ireland was never in more pusillanimous hands than those of the Lords Justices of the time, Adam Loftus and Sir Robert Gardiner; and the iron-hearted Ormonde himself—"a man

of great energy and boldness", as described by Camden—was dismayed at the struggle before him. Captain Williams told one of Fenton's spies that he could hold out for at least a month. Ormonde was disgusted at the prospect. "I protest to God", he wrote to Cecil, "the state of the scurvy fort of Blackwater, which cannot be long held, doth more touch my heart than all the spoils that ever were made by traitors on mine own lands. The fort was always falling, and never victualled but once (by myself) without an army, to Her Majesty's exceeding charges."

The Council at Dublin wrote to England for advice and help. The civil members urged that Captain Williams should be directed to surrender the Blackwater fort to Tyrone on the best conditions that he could obtain. Ormonde, however, was supreme in military matters, and Sir Henry Bagenal was as bitter as ever against his brother-in-law Tyrone, and "eager for the fray". The Council, finding Ormonde determined to fight, begged him to take the command in person, but the Lieutenant-General was within four years of seventy, and hesitated, not so much from *inertia* as from a sense of the overwhelming importance of duly protecting Leinster, as he was in honour bound to do. He took, however, the fatal resolution to divide his forces, and to march himself at the head of one division against the Leinster insurgents, while Bagenal led the other to relieve the fort of the Blackwater. At the last moment Loftus and Gardiner sent a message to the commander to surrender the fort; but Bagenal, characteristically, intercepted the letter, and took it back to the Council.

On the morning of Monday, the 14th of August, the English forces, which had reached Armagh from Newry with some slight losses the preceding day, started from Armagh to relieve Blackwatertown (then called Portmore). The army consisted of about 4000 foot and 350 horse, the infantry comprising six regiments, and the whole was disposed in three divisions; the van being led by Colonel Percy, supported by

the Knight Marshal's own regiment, while the regiments of Colonel Cosby and Sir Thomas Wingfield came next, and those of Captains Cooney and Billings brought up the rear.

The English cavalry was commanded by Sir Calisthenes Brooke and Captains Montague and Fleming. The majority of the men were veterans who had fought abroad. They were armed with muskets, swords, and daggers, many had breast-plates, and they had some brass cannon. The main body of the Irish, whose infantry was numerically as strong as that of their opponents, the cavalry being somewhat more so, were armed with lances, swords, and battle-axes; some had javelins and bows and arrows, and a great many had muskets; but they were entirely without artillery. They occupied an entrenched position near the small River Callan, about two miles from Armagh, at a place called Beal-an-atha-buy, or the mouth of the Yellow Ford. Bogs and woods extended on either side, a part of the way was broken by small hills, and deep trenches and pitfalls were dug in the road and neighbouring fields.

The leaders on both sides harangued their respective forces, and the Irish were, moreover, encouraged by O'Donnell's bard, Fearfeasa O'Clery, who professed to have discovered an ancient prophecy attributed to St. Bearchan, foretelling that at a place called the Yellow Ford the foreigner would be defeated by a Hugh O'Neill.

The morning, says O'Sullivan Beare, was calm and beautiful, and the English army advanced from Armagh, before sunrise, with colours flying, drums beating, and trumpets sounding, in all the pomp and pride of war; but their front had not proceeded more than half a mile when the Irish skirmishers began to gall them severely from the brushwood on either flank.

The vanguard of the royal army advanced gallantly, and after a desperate struggle gained possession of the first Irish entrenchment, about two miles from Armagh. They then

pushed forward and reached an eminence, where they were vigorously charged by the Irish, and driven back beyond the trench. Bagenal's tactics were at fault: his divisions were too far separated to support each other, and his leading regiment was cut to pieces before the one following had come to the charge. (Ormonde, on being informed of this later, testily remarked: "Suer the devill bewiched them, that none of them did prevent this grosse error!")

The Marshal himself came up at the head of his own regiment, and acted with extraordinary bravery, gaining the trench a second time; but the Irish were now engaged with the royal troops at every point, and the fighting was so hot in the rear, where O'Donnell, Maguire, and James MacSorley MacDonnell charged the English, that it was impossible for the reserve regiments to support their front. Bagenal raised the visor of his helmet to gaze more freely about him, when a musket-ball pierced his forehead and he fell dead, shot through the brain. Tyrone, knowing that the Marshal was in the front rank, had gone forward to encounter him and settle their long quarrel; but the musket-ball had settled the dispute, and they were not fated to meet.

The confusion which generally follows the death of a general on the field was increased by the explosion of two barrels of gunpowder—from one of which a private soldier was rashly replenishing his flask—the explosion scattering death and destruction around a large area. The largest piece of artillery got into a pit or bog-hole, and defied all efforts to move it, while the O'Donnells easily picked off the draught oxen. "I protest", said one of the Irish officers, Lieutenant Taaffe, "our loss was only for the great distance that was betwixt us in our march, for when the vanguard was charged they were within sight of our battle, and yet not rescued until they were overthrown. The explosion and the delay about the gun did the rest."

Tyrone, who had the Irish centre under his own special

command, took advantage of the prevailing disorder, and riding up with forty horsemen, followed by a body of spearmen, he plunged with a shout into the thick of the fray, making the enemy fly in disorder, and "confusion worse confounded". All this time the battle raged so fiercely in the rear that the English had not been able to advance a quarter of a mile in an hour and a half, and the death of Bagenal was not known at that point when the flight had begun.

Maelmuire O'Reilly, a son of Sir John O'Reilly, called "the handsome", and, being a Royalist, styled "the Queen's O'Reilly", made a desperate effort to rally the royal troops, but he was himself soon numbered with the slain. About one o'clock the rout became general, and the pits and trenches along the way caused more mischief to the flying English than even in the morning march. The new levies cast away their arms, and if they had not been near Armagh not a man would have escaped. As it was, the flight was not a long one; the ammunition of the Irish was nearly exhausted, and the shattered remains of the English army shut themselves up in the fortified cathedral, leaving their general, 23 officers, and about 1700 of their rank and file on the field; together with their artillery, including the gun which caused delay by sticking in the mud. Many colours were taken, and the English lost a great portion of their arms, drums, and other paraphernalia.

No victory could have been more complete. The loss on the side of the Confederates was estimated, at the lowest, as from 500 to 600. Fynes Moryson said of it: "The English from their first arrival in the kingdom never had received so great an overthrow as this. Tyrone was among the Irish celebrated as the deliverer of his countrymen from thraldom; and the general voice of Tyrone among the English, after the defeat of the Blackwater, was as that of Hannibal among the Romans, after the battle of Cannæ." Cox declared that "By this victory the Irish got arms, ammunition, and

victuals, and, which was more, so much reputation that the English could act only on the defensive part; and not that itself without continual fear and danger". Finally Camden said: "It was a glorious victory for the rebels and of special advantage: for hereby they got both arms and provisions, and Tyrone's name was cried up all over Ireland as the author of their liberty".

CHAPTER X

After the Battle of the Yellow Ford

Tyrone looks to Spain for help—After the Battle of the Yellow Ford—The English and Irish Forces compared—Loftus and Gardiner write to Tyrone—The Queen's Anger—The Garrisons of Armagh and Blackwater capitulate—Death of Sir Richard Bingham—Sir Samuel Bagenal appointed Marshal—O'Donnell's Depredations—Ormonde helpless—Robert, Earl of Essex, appointed Lord-Lieutenant.

There is no doubt that although the English had to encounter great difficulties in securing and occupying the whole island, Tyrone never believed he could succeed single-handed in driving the English out of Ireland, or, even when aided by the resources of his Irish allies, in subduing them. He was wholly without the means to carry on an offensive campaign: he had no battering train to make breaches in the fortifications of the English towns; no regular troops fit to storm entrenchments, or fight a pitched battle in the open country; no cavalry of the quality or number required to hold the campaign district. Tyrone's only hope of ultimate success was in the arrival of adequate support from Spain, and his chief object was to avoid committing his forces to any decisive engagement and thus to keep them together as long as possible.

The English cavalry, which had suffered least, escaped the night after the battle of the Yellow Ford to Dundalk, under Captain Montague, pursued for a little way by Terence O'Hanlon, and it had been particularly recorded that Captain Romney was surprised and killed while smoking, by the

roadside, a pipe of tobacco—one of the earliest recorded instances of addiction to the weed.

The superiority of the English forces in this conflict was not, however, so decisive as might have been expected. The condition of the contending forces was described in January, 1600, as follows:—

"Why are the (English) forces so weak and poor? One cause is the electing of captains rather by favour than desert; for many are inclined to dicing, wenching, and the like, and do not regard the waste of their soldiers. Another cause is, that the soldiers do rather imitate the disarmed companies, that come out of Britanny and Picardy, desiring a scalde rapier before a good sword, a pike without carettes or burgennott, a harkbuttier without a marrion, which hath not been accustomed in this country but of late. The captains and soldiers generally follow this course, which is a course fitter to take blows than make a good stand.

"Many of the captains and gentlemen are worthy men; but most of them are fitter for the wars of the Low Countries and Britanny, where they were quartered upon good villages, than here on waste towns, or wood, after long marches. Some captains have, by their purse and credit, held their companies strong, but have neither been repaid nor rewarded, and have fallen into great poverty. Other captains, therefore, rather than spare a penny, will suffer their soldiers to starve, as is daily seen in this country. Another reason is, that supplies come so short, and so long after they are due, the victuals are many times corrupted by the provant-masters that go to the heap for cheap. The captains and soldiers are constrained, upon their charges with long attendance, to fetch by convoy their weekly lending, sometimes thirty or forty miles. The soldiers are compelled to carry muskets, which are very heavy.

"Why is the Irish rebel so strong, so well armed, apparelled, victualled, and monied? He endures no wants;

he makes booty upon all parts of the kingdom, and sells it back for money. In this way the same cow has been taken and sold back again four times in half a year, by which they (the rebels) have all the money in the kingdom. There is no soldier with a good sword, but some Gray merchant or townsman will buy it from him. The soldier, being poor, sells it for 10*s*. or 12*s*., and if an excellent sword, is worth commonly among the rebels £3 or £4. A graven morrion, bought of a poor soldier for a noble, or 10*s*., is worth among the rebels £3. The soldiers, likewise, through necessity and penury, sell their powder at 12*d*. a pound, and the Gray merchants or townsmen collect it, and sell it again to the traitors at 3*s*. It is not the sword only, but famine, that will make them fall as in the Desmond's wars and those of Connaught. It may be said, the good will perish with the bad. I hold that there are very few but have deserved, both at God's hands and Her Majesty's, such a reward. The enemy spares neither friend or foe, and as long as there is any plough going or breeding of cattle, he will be able to make wars, except against walled towns and fortresses."

The story of Tyrone's victory struck terror into the hearts of Loftus and Gardiner, who, Ormonde being elsewhere, wrote a humble letter to Tyrone, begging him not to attack the defeated troops "in cold blood", and added: "You may move Her Majesty to know a favourable conceit of you by using favour to these men; and besides, your ancient adversary, the Marshal, being now taken away, we hope you will cease all further revenge towards the rest, against whom you can ground no cause of sting against yourself." This sample of polite letter-writing never reached the Earl to whom it was addressed, the Lords Justices declaring that it had been revoked. The Queen voiced the general opinion when she declared that "the like was never read, either in form or substance, for baseness".

Tyrone supposed that Armagh was provisioned for a

longer time than it really was, while his own supplies were running short, and his army, he declared, was costing him £500 a day. He therefore gladly accepted terms, and the garrisons of Armagh and the Blackwater fort were permitted to leave, the officers retaining their rapiers and horses, but surrendering their colours, drums, arms, and ammunition. Tyrone knew the helpless state of the Government at that moment, and it is improbable that he retired to Dungannon at such an important juncture without solid reasons.

Ormonde, who was shut up in Kilkenny, to which he had retired after the discomfiture of his men in Leix, reported that the loss in killed was not so great as at first stated, but might easily have been greater "if God had not letted it; for their disorder was such as the like hath not been among men of any understanding, dividing the army into six bodies, marching so far asunder as one of them could not second nor help the other till those in the vanguard were overthrown".

The Ulster chiefs "returned to their respective homes in joy and exultation, though they had lost many men", for it had never been the custom of the Irish to follow up a victory, otherwise Tyrone might have advanced on Dublin with signal success; but Celtic hostings were temporary, and their commissariat imperfect, and the Irish, though they won many a battle, never pressed home a victory.

Elizabeth was enraged at the losses which her arms had sustained in Ireland, and wrote upbraiding letters to the Irish Council. She sent Sir Richard Bingham to replace Marshal Bagenal; and she could not have shown her exasperation better than by renewing her commission to a man who was notoriously hostile to the Irish. Bingham, however, died immediately after his return to Ireland, and Sir Samuel Bagenal was then sent to Dublin as Marshal with the 2000 men who had originally been intended for Lough Foyle.

Tyrone now wrote to Captain Tyrrell, Owny O'More, and Redmond Burke to hasten into Munster, where the sons of

Thomas Roe, brother of the late Earl of Desmond, were prepared to raise the standard of revolt, and his orders were immediately carried out. The new Munster rebellion, which it is not our province to chronicle, broke out, says Fynes Moryson, like lightning. Suffice it to say that the title of Earl of Desmond was conferred, by the authority of Tyrone, on James, son of Thomas Roe, and, matters being satisfactorily arranged, the Ulster confederates returned home, with the exception of Captain Tyrrell, who remained to organize the forces of the newly-created Earl.

O'Donnell, who had purchased the castle of Ballymok from MacDonough of Corran and made it his principal residence, proceeded with a great hosting, at the close of 1598, into Clanrickard, slaying several, and carrying off immense booty; and in the spring of 1599 he made an incursion on a large scale into Thomond, and swept away such enormous spoils that the hills of Burren were black with the droves of cattle which were driven to the north.

Tyrone had in the South many friends and allies, among them being his illegitimate son, Con, and his son-in-law, Richard Butler, third Viscount Mountgarret. The latter now sent to Ulster for 3000 auxiliaries, and invited Tyrone to spend Christmas with him at Kilkenny. "I pray God", said Ormonde, "I may live to see the utter destruction of those wicked and unnatural traitors, upon all whom, by fire, sword, or any other extremity, there cannot light too great a plague."

Miler Magrath, Archbishop of Waterford and Lismore, an apostate, had been robbed and imprisoned by Con, who had tried to extort ransom from the old Franciscan, who promised to befriend him as far as possible without "hurting his privilege in Her Majesty's laws"; but Tyrone sent peremptory orders that the Archbishop, of whose re-conversion he had hopes, should be released without any conditions, writing to Con, saying: "If the covetousness of this world

caused him to remain in this way that he is upon, how did his correcting touch you? Withal I have the witness of my own priest upon him, that he promised to return from that way, saving only that he could not but take order for his children first, seeing he got them, and also that he is friend and ally unto us."

England, now thoroughly aroused, began to pour in troops, supplies, and money without stint. Invested with more ample powers, and endowed with a more splendid allowance than any of his predecessors, the Earl of Essex landed in Ireland as Lord-Lieutenant (a title which had been in abeyance for nearly forty years) on the 15th of April, 1599, and was sworn in the same day. He was provided with an army of 20,000 foot and 2000 horse—the most powerful and best-equipped force ever sent into Ireland—and his instructions were to prosecute the war strenuously against the Ulster insurgents, and to plant garrisons at Lough Foyle and Ballyshannon.

Essex was more a poet than a politician: he saw things not as they really are, but "through a kind of glory". At one time he imagined himself the hero of a hundred fights, at another, with tears that sprung from self-pity, he called himself an exile. He came, half-genius, half-charlatan, to subdue "the wild hysterics of the Celt", being himself as hysterical as an overwrought schoolgirl; and, "dreaming on things to come", he cried exultingly: "By God I will beat Tyr-Owen in the field; for nothing worthy Her Majesty's honour hath yet been achieved". Yet notwithstanding this wild desire to achieve great things, the mood would be followed by another in which, half sick of self-love, he would indite verses in praise of the life-contemplative, and sing the joys of those who live unseen, unknown, and unlamented die. Even on the eve of departure, when starting for the "land of old romance", which was to be the scene of his future labours, he wrote, possibly with a poetic foreboding of evil, to his

Royal Mistress in somewhat distressful terms: "From a mind delighting in sorrow, from spirits wasted with passion, from a heart torn with care, grief, and travail, from a man that hateth himself and all things also that keepeth him alive, what service can your Majesty expect? since my service past deserves no more than banishment and proscription into the cursedst of all other countries," and signs this pensive and melancholy missive, "your Majesty's exiled servant".

The new Lord-Lieutenant was not without counsellors; "broad-browed Verulam", "the first of them that know", was at his elbow with sage advice pointing out the perils in his path, and, while advising him to turn his necessity to glorious gain, reminded him that "the justest triumphs that the Romans in their greatness did obtain, and that whereof the emperors in their styles took addition and denomination, were of such an enemy as this . . . such were the Germans and the Ancient Britons, and divers others. Upon which kind of people, whether the victory were a conquest, or a reconquest upon a rebellion or a revolt, it made no difference that ever I could find in honour."

But, good advice or bad, the die was cast! "Into Ireland I go," wrote Essex on 1st January, 1599, "the Queen hath irrevocably decreed it, the Council do passionately urge it, and I am tied in my own reputation to use no tergiversation."

CHAPTER XI

"The Real King of Ireland"

Essex's Administration—His Fatuity—The Futility of his Methods—Death of Sir Thomas Norris—Essex marches South—His Campaign in Munster—Death of Sir Henry Norris—Sir Conyers Clifford directed to relieve Coloony Castle—Defeated by O'Rourke and O'Donnell—Dies on the Field—Submission of O'Conor Sligo to Tyrone.

Essex issued a proclamation on his arrival, offering pardon and restoration of their property to such of the Irish as submitted, but very few availed themselves of the proffered favours. His commission, as already stated, was of the most ample kind. He was empowered to lease the lands of all rebels, especially those affected by the attainder of Tyrone and others in his province, and in Tirconnell, Leitrim, Fermanagh, and the Route. An exception was made in favour of O'Dogherty, and also in the case of Sir Arthur O'Neill, who were, it was considered, driven into disloyalty by necessity and not from choice. Pardons might be granted by the Lord-Lieutenant for all treasons, but it was stipulated that the arch-traitor, Tyrone, who had "so vilely abused" the Queen's mercy, was only to be pardoned for life, and not for lands, and even this mercy was only to be extended to him on his giving some kind of guarantee of future good behaviour. As in Lord Burgh's case, knighthoods were not to be given away wholesale, strict injunctions being given to the Lord-Lieutenant to "confer that title upon none that shall not deserve it by some notorious service, or have not in possession or reversion sufficient living to maintain their degree and calling".

The Lord-Lieutenant, "this noble and worthy gentleman", having taken "the sword and sway of this unsettled kingdom into his hands", proceeded to confer with the Council, and, as the result of many meetings, it was decided not to attack Tyrone or O'Donnell, but rather to attack their allies. The Council advised "a present prosecution in Leinster, being the heart of the whole kingdom", a plan which, however, was not carried into effect. About 30,000 rebels altogether were reported to be in arms, and of these Leinster contained 3000 natives, in addition to 800 mercenaries from Ulster. The country was in a state of ferment. Meath and Westmeath were full of armed bands; Longford and Louth suffered greatly from incursions from Ulster.

Essex sent reinforcements to the garrisons of Carrickfergus, Newry, Dundalk, Drogheda, Wicklow, and Naas. A force of 3000 foot and 300 horse was sent forward to Kilcullen, and on the 10th of May he set out from Dublin to take the command. He then, instead of marching, as originally intended, towards Ulster, proceeded south.

It is as necessary here to follow the fortunes of Essex as it was on previous occasions not to keep strictly within the confines of the province under consideration, for the fatuous conduct of the Lord-Lieutenant, and the futility of his efforts to grapple with his evil star, ultimately affected the country at large and Ulster in particular.

The English army was repeatedly attacked along the route by Owny MacRory and the other Leinster confederates; and in one of these conflicts Essex lost, according to O'Sullivan Beare, some 500 men, the place being called Bearnanag-Cleti, or the Pass of Plumes, from the number of plumes collected there after the battle. Ormonde made his appearance, accompanied by his kinsmen, Lords Mountgarret and Cahir, both of whom had been considered in rebellion. Mountgarret made his submission, and Essex then besieged the castle of Cahir, which was held by James, another of

the insurgent Butlers, but was thrown open after part of the building had been demolished by heavy artillery, and Lord Cahir had called in vain on his brother to surrender. Essex repaired the damage done, and, placing a garrison of 100 men in the castle, he marched northward along the left bank of the Suir.

Sir Thomas Norris, Lord President of Munster, while waiting the advent of the Lord-Lieutenant at Kilmallock, exercised his men in forays against the Irish, and in one of these was mortally wounded by Thomas Burke, brother of the Baron of Castleconnell. The wound, it was first thought, would not prove fatal, for Norris announced that he had recovered sufficiently to accompany Essex in part of his Munster campaign, but in August he was dangerously ill, and in September commissioners were appointed to execute duties neglected since his death.

Near Limerick, Essex, who was accompanied on this expedition by the Earl of Ormonde, was joined by Sir Conyers Clifford, President of Connaught, the Earls of Thomond and Clanrickard, and Donough O'Conor Sligo. Clifford and Clanrickard returned to Connaught, and Essex, with the other commanders, marched against the Geraldines, who gave them a warmer reception than they anticipated.

After some hard fighting, in his second day's march from Limerick, when he had been entertained with two orations in English, "in which", remarks Harrington, "I know not which was more to be discommended—words, composition, or oratory, all of which having their peculiar excellencies in barbarism, harshness, and rustical, both pronouncing and action", the Viceroy pitched his camp a little to the east of Askeaton, and, having succeeded in conveying some ammunition to that garrison, he was again attacked in marching to Adare, at a place called Finneterstown, by the newly-created Earl of Desmond with 2000 or 3000 men. Here Captain Jennings was killed, Sir Henry Norris had

his leg broken by a bullet, and a third officer was shot through both cheeks. Norris "endured amputation with extraordinary patience", but died a few weeks afterwards, "making", says Mr. Bagwell, "the third of these famous six brothers who had fallen a victim to the Irish service".

Essex now returned, without even attempting any further service with his fine army, by a circuitous route, through Fermoy and Lismore, into Leinster, the Geraldines hovering on his rear and cutting off several of his men in the early part of the march, while the Leinster insurgents were equally unmerciful to him in the latter portion of it.

O'Conor Sligo, on returning from Munster, was blockaded in his only remaining castle of Coloony by O'Donnell, and Essex directed Sir Conyers Clifford to hasten with all his available forces to relieve him, and to dispatch by sea, from Galway, materials for the construction and fortification of a strong castle at Sligo, to defend that passage against the men of Tirconnell. Clifford proceeded to obey these orders, and while the naval expedition sailed round the coast, under the command of Theobald of the Ships (so called from his having been born at sea), he himself, with a well-appointed army, advanced from Athlone towards the Curlieu mountains, beyond which, in the famous Pass of Ballaghboy, O'Donnell awaited him, with such men as he could spare, after leaving a sufficient force under his kinsman, Niall Garv O'Donnell, to continue the blockade of Coloony Castle.

Clifford, with a force of something under 2000 men, went to Boyle, and, in spite of Essex's caution against over-confidence, resolved to pass the Curlieu mountains without resting his men, after two days' march in the hot harvest weather. The day (15th of August, 1599) was already far advanced when the Irish scouts from the hill-tops signalled the approach of the English army from the abbey of Boyle, where it had encamped the previous night; and O'Donnell, having addressed his people in a few soul-stirring words to

encourage them, sent the youngest and most athletic of his men, armed with javelins, bows, and muskets, to attack the enemy as soon as they should reach the rugged part of the mountain, the way having been already impeded by felled trees and other obstructions, while he himself followed with the remainder of his small force, marching with a steady pace, and more heavily armed for close fighting.

Clifford does not seem to have expected any opposition, but O'Donnell had been watching the pass for weeks, and had given orders that the army should be allowed to get well on to the mountain before they were attacked. The Irish scouts saw them leave the abbey of Boyle, so that there was plenty of time for O'Donnell to bring up his forces. On arriving at the narrowest part of the pass, between Boyle and Ballinafad, Clifford found it strongly defended by a breastwork and held by 400 men, who fired a volley and then fell back. The English army continued to advance in a solid column by a road which permitted twelve men to march abreast, and which led through a small wood, and then through some bogs, where the Irish made their principal stand. It is clear that the latter behaved with desperate bravery from the outset. Their musketeers were few, but they made up for the smallness of their number by the steadiness of their aim.

The road up the mountain, which consisted of "stones six or seven foot broad, lying above ground, with plashes of bog between them", ran through boggy woods, from which the Irish galled the English, who exhausted their powder with little effect. Sir Alexander Radcliff, commanding the advance-guard, was slain early in the fight, and the English vanguard soon after was thrown into such disorder that it fell back upon the centre, and in a little while the whole army was flying panic-stricken from the field. Indignant at the ignominious retreat of his troops, Sir Conyers Clifford refused to join the flying throng, and, breaking

from those who would have forced him from the field, even after he was wounded he sought his death from the foe. The Four Masters say he was killed by a musket-ball, but according to O'Sullivan Beare and Dymmock he was pierced through the body with a spear. Sir John MacSwiney, an Irish officer in the Queen's service, faced the enemy almost alone, cursing the vileness of his men, and "died fighting, leaving the example of his virtue to be intituled by all honourable posterities". Only the horse (Lord Southampton's cavalry), under Sir Griffin Markham, behaved well, covering the retreat and charging boldly uphill "among rocks and bogs, where never horse was seen to charge before". Markham had his arm broken by a shot. O'Rourke, who was encamped to the east of the Curlieus, arrived with his hosting in time to join in the pursuit and slaughter of the Queen's army, which lost, according to O'Sullivan Beare, 1400 men; but Harrington, who was present, says Clifford's whole force hardly amounted to that number. The English and the Anglo-Irish of Meath suffered most, as the Connaught Royalists were better able to avail themselves of the nature of the country in the flight.

O'Donnell, though at no great distance from the fight, took no part in it; and O'Rourke, who remained in possession of the field, recognizing the dead Clifford after the battle, cut off his head and sent it to O'Donnell and MacDermot, accompanied by a letter "barbarous for the Latin, but civil for the sense", announcing that for the love he bore the Governor he had sent his decapitated body to be buried in the old monastery of Lough Cé. Clifford's head was later taken to Coloony and shown to O'Conor, who, on receiving this evidence of the failure of his friends to relieve him, surrendered his castle to O'Donnell, who magnanimously restored his lands to the fallen chief, together with cattle to stock them. O'Donnell and his late foe now seemed to be on friendly terms, and Theobald of the Ships,

before returning with his fleet to Galway, also made peace with the triumphant Chief of Tirconnell. "The immediate result of the battle", says Mr. Bagwell, "was that O'Conor Sligo submitted to Tyrone, and became a loyal subject of the real King of Ireland."

CHAPTER XII

The Errors of Essex

Essex's Lamentable Lethargy—The "War-lords" declare against War!—The Queen's Anger at the Delays—Essex musters a New Army and gets Reinforcements from England—He leaves Dublin for Farney—A Conference between Essex and Tyrone—Egregious Behaviour of the Viceroy—Tyrone wins the Day—Sir John Harrington's pretty Picture of Tyrone among his own People.

Essex, "light-hearted as a plunging star", no sooner heard the baleful news of the defeat and death of so many of his brave followers, than he determined, naturally enough, "to revenge or follow worthy Conyers Clifford", but, alas! "infirm of purpose" he allowed himself to be persuaded into believing that nothing could be done. "The Lords, Colonels, and Knights of the Army" were in favour of a policy of masterly inactivity. They declared that men and arms they had none. That there were less than 4000 available for a campaign; that many of the men deserted to the enemy, ran home to England, feigned sickness, or hid themselves. The ill-success which had of late attended the Queen's army had disheartened the troops, and there was no enthusiasm displayed in connection with a proposed Ulster expedition. The rebels were undoubtedly much stronger numerically, and were, as we have seen, better fed and clothed than the royal army. The Connaught forces having lately suffered defeat, there was little chance of establishing a base at Lough Foyle, or of supplying men to garrison Armagh or Blackwater, to either of which latter provisions could not be brought by sea. The

officers, who were well acquainted with the state of the army, firmly declared against war. "In which resolution," said they, "if any man suspected it proceeded from weakness or baseness, we will not only in all likely and profitable service disprove him, but will every one of us deal with his life, that we dissuaded this undertaking with more duty than any man could persuade unto it."

Essex had been writing to Elizabeth reports of his movements in Ireland which astonished and vexed her. The Queen, herself so capable in the conduct of affairs, however intricate, so cool in judgment, so clear-sighted, so firm and so courageous, and possessed of marvellous tenacity of purpose, was amazed at the incapacity and fatuity which her favourite displayed as her representative in Ireland. The enemies of Essex—who were numerous in the Council, and who, from the first, had encouraged his appointment to the Viceroyalty, in the hope that it would lead, first, to his removal from the Court, where his personal influence with Elizabeth was all-powerful, and ultimately to his destruction—now rejoiced in secret over every fresh evidence of his folly. His well-equipped army had dwindled away till it was now only one-fourth of what it had originally been, and he wrote to England for 2000 more men, without whom, he said, he could take no step against the Ulster chiefs. The reinforcement he demanded was supplied, and he then wrote to say he could do no more that year (1599) than march to the frontier of Ulster with 1300 foot and 300 horse.

Elizabeth was wroth with Essex for calling in "so many of those that are of so slender judgment, and none of our Council", to keep men from censuring his proceedings, and there can be little doubt that his having done so was a weak device to shift the responsibility. The officers having declared against hostilities, Essex, a week later, sick of inactivity and the introspection it involved, resolved to go as far and do as much "as duty would warrant, and God enable

him". He meant to taunt Tyrone into action. "If he have", said Essex, "as much courage as he pretendeth, we will, on one side or the other, end the war." But Tyrone wisely deemed discretion the better part of valour, and declined to be drawn into the open by gibes or jeers.

On the 28th August the Lord-Lieutenant left Dublin for Farney's "lakes and fells", which he had inherited under letters patent to his father from the Queen, and by placing a garrison at Donaghmoyne he no doubt hoped to secure his own as well as to annoy Tyrone. Travelling through Navan and Kells, Essex arriving at Castle Keran, mustered an army of 3700 foot and 300 horse, and none too soon, for Tyrone himself was in Farney, with an army nearly 11,000 strong. When Essex arrived at the River Lagan, where it bounds Louth and Monaghan, Tyrone appeared with his forces on the opposite hills. Sir William Warren, who was used to treating with the Ulster chief, went to him to secure the freedom of a prisoner, and next day Henry O'Hagan was sent by Tyrone to request a conference, which the Lord-Lieutenant at first refused but next day agreed to grant. "If thy master", Essex is reported to have said, "have any confidence either in the justness of his cause, or in the goodness and number of his men, or in his own virtue, of all which he vainly glorieth, he will meet me in the field, so far advanced before the head of his kerne as myself shall be separated from the front of my troops, where we will parley in that fashion which best becomes soldiers." O'Hagan, whose hereditary privilege it was to inaugurate the O'Neill, departed in disgust.

On the day following, Essex offered battle, the offer being ignored, and Tyrone renewed his request for a parley. A garrison was placed at Newrath, and next day the army moved towards Drumcondra. They had marched but a short distance when O'Hagan again appeared, and, "speaking so loud as all might hear that were present", announced that

Tyrone "desired her Majesty's mercy, and that the Lord-Lieutenant would hear him; which, if his lordship agreed to, he would gallop about and meet him at the ford of Bellaclinthe, which was on the right hand by the way which his lordship took to Drumcondra". Essex cautiously sent two officers in advance to explore the place, and then, posting some cavalry on a rising ground at hand, rode alone to the bank of the river. Tyrone approached unattended on the opposite side, and urging his steed into the stream to a spot "where he, standing up to his horse's belly, might be near enough to be heard by the Lord-Lieutenant, though he kept to the hard ground. . . . Seeing Tyrone there alone, his lordship went down alone. At whose coming Tyrone saluted his lordship with much reverence, and they talked above half an hour together, and after went either of them to their companies on the hills."

This strange conduct on the part of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth's representative in Ireland has been severely condemned by all historians. Mr. Richard Bagwell rightly says: "Of all the foolish things Essex ever did, this was the most foolish. By conversing with the arch-rebel without witnesses he left it open to his enemies to put the worst construction on all he did, and he put it out of his own power to offer any valid defence. Two days before he had declared war to the knife, and now he was ready to talk familiarly with his enemy, and practically to concede all without striking a blow." Foolish, undoubtedly Essex was, but was he really sane? Gifted beyond his peers with great personal beauty, he was the Absalom of English history, his vanity was his downfall. A poet, possessed of rare literary ability, and of the nervous poetic temperament, facts were to him ugly things. "A fancy from a flower-bell, someone's death, a chorus ending from Euripides", were dearer to his soul than marching and counter-marching, though he was not lacking in courage, and

the life of a soldier appealed to his imagination with all its "drums and trampellings". The favourite of a great Queen —not indeed a "laughing queen", "whose face was worth the world to kiss", but the imperious and domineering "maiden-tongued, male-faced Elizabeth", who demanded abject, nay servile, humility on the part of all her servants; the conduct of Essex towards his Royal Mistress, in itself, points not so much to lunacy as to what is now known as "swelled head". When the Queen proposed to send Knollys to Ireland, Essex objected and favoured the appointment of Carew. The Queen insisting, Essex turned his back on her with a gesture of contempt, and, Raleigh tells us, he exclaimed that "her conditions were as crooked as her carcase"; whereupon Elizabeth in anger gave the insolent young man (young enough to be her grandson) a box on the ear. Essex, surprised, laid his hand on his sword, and, swearing he would not have endured such an indignity from Henry VIII himself, left the Court in haste and went to sulk at Wantage, from whence he wrote to the Queen letters in which the dominant note is that of a petulant, spoilt child, and in which he complains of Elizabeth's having broken "all laws of affection". Ireland required "a still strong man", and in sending Essex to govern her, the Queen erred sadly, for Essex was not only "green in judgment" but "sick of self-love", and "himself unto himself he sold".

But to return to Tyrone, whom we have left in mid-stream up to the saddle-girths. The interview lasted, without witnesses, nearly an hour, and no doubt Tyrone, who possessed a profound knowledge of human nature, improved the shining hour, and made on the mind of the vain and ambitious Viceroy an impression by no means favourable to English interests. The meeting was then, after a pause, resumed, with the addition of six leading men, as witnesses, on each side. Those on Tyrone's were his brother Cormac, Magennis, Maguire, Ever MacCowley, Henry Ovington, and Richard

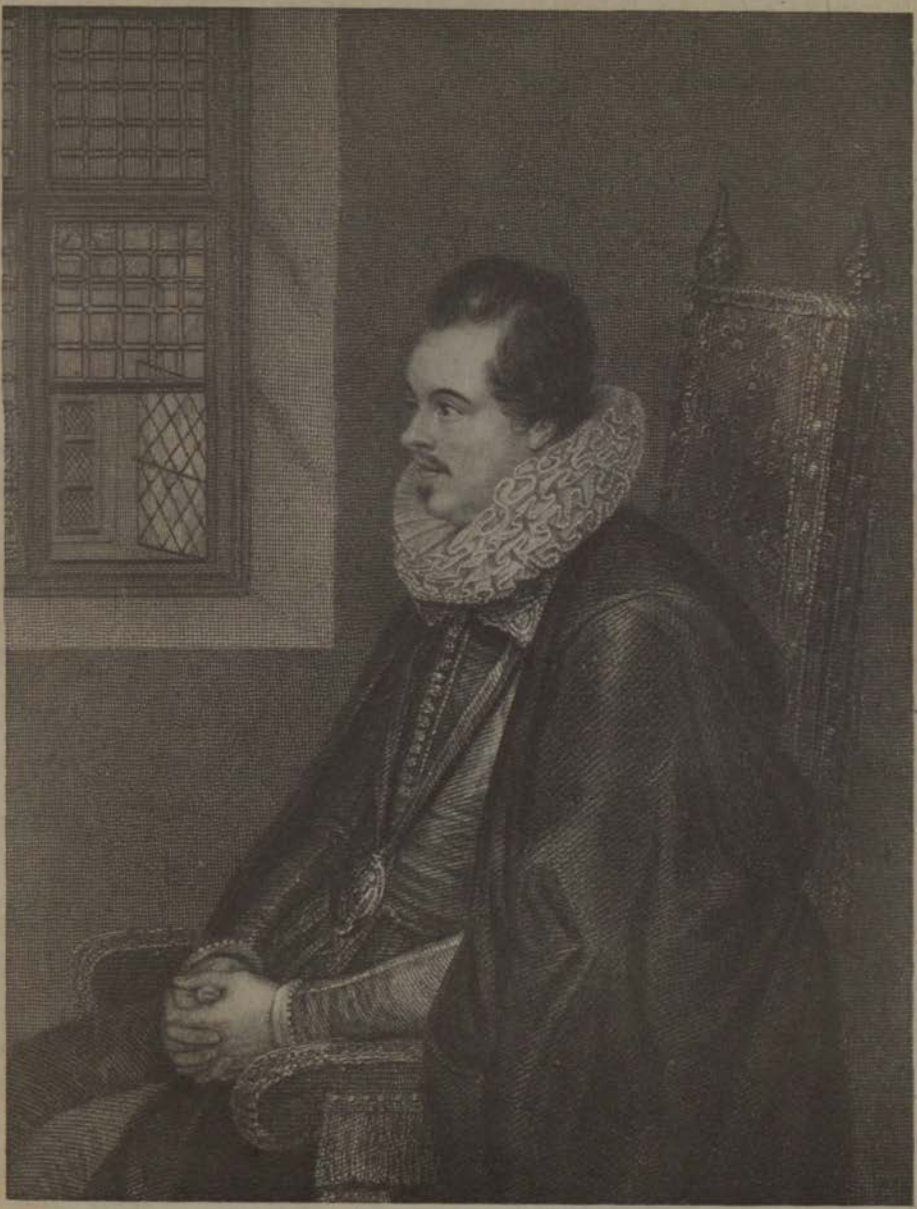
Owen, "that came from Spain, but is an Irishman by birth". Southampton, St. Leger, and four other officers of rank accompanied the Lord-Lieutenant. As a token of humility, the Irishmen rode into the river, "almost to their horses' bellies", whilst the Viceregal party stayed on the bank. Tyrone, says Camden, saluted the Viceroy "with a great deal of respect", removing his plumed head-gear the while, and it was arranged that a further parley was to take place on the morrow, and Essex continued his march to Drumcondra.

Sir Henry Wotton, private secretary to Essex, was chosen to carry on negotiations, and a better could scarcely have been selected. The choice fell on Wotton, we are told, because he appeared to be the fittest person "to counterpoise the sharpness of Henry Ovington's wit". The result was a truce until the 1st of the ensuing May, with a clause that either party might at any time renew the war after a fortnight's notice. It is evident that Tyrone's tone at the meeting was higher and more decisive than is generally supposed, for he demanded that the Catholic religion should be tolerated; that the principal officers of State and the judges should be natives of Ireland; that he himself, O'Donnell, and the Earl of Desmond (his own creation) should enjoy the lands of their ancestors; and that half the army in Ireland should consist of Irishmen.

A lively and most interesting sketch of Tyrone, "in his habit as he lived", has been preserved in a letter from Sir John Harrington to Justice Carey, and has been rescued from the waste-paper basket of oblivion by the industry and research of Mr. Bagwell, to whom all students of Irish history owe a debt of gratitude which can never be repaid. Sir John Harrington, it will be remembered, was the author of *Nugæ Antiquæ*; a translation of Ariosto; and was himself a writer of considerable charm and vivacity. Harrington deftly depicts the scene at Dundalk, when Tyrone, who had met him at Ormonde's house in London, apologized for not remembering

him personally, and added that troubles had almost made him forget his friends. While the Earl was in private conversation with Sir William Warren (at whose house, it will be recalled, his romantic marriage with Mabel Bagenal took place), Harrington amused himself by "posing his two sons in their learning, and their tutors, which were one Friar Nangle, a Franciscan, and a younger scholar, whose name I know not; and finding the two children of good towardly spirit, their age between thirteen and fifteen, in English clothes like a nobleman's sons; with velvet jerkins and gold lace; of a good cheerful aspect, freckled-faced, not tall of stature, but strong and well-set; both of them speaking the English tongue; I gave them (not without the advice of Sir William Warren) my English translation of Ariosto, which I got at Dublin; which their teachers took very thankfully, and soon after showed it to the Earl, who called to see it openly, and would needs hear some part of it read. I turned (as it had been by chance) to the beginning of the forty-fifth canto, and some other passages of the book, which he seemed to like so well that he solemnly swore his boys should read all the book over to him."

Tyrone deplored his own hard life, "comparing himself to wolves, that fill their bellies sometimes, and fast as long for it"; "but he was merry at dinner, and seemed rather pleased when Harrington worsted one of his priests in an argument". "There were fern tables and fern forms spread under the stately canopy of heaven. His guard for the most part were beardless boys without shirts, who, in the frost, wade as familiarly through rivers as water-spaniels. With what charms such a master makes them love him I know not; but if he bid come, they come; if go, they do go; if he say do this, they do it. . . . One pretty thing I noted, that the paper being drawn for him to sign, and his signing it with O'Neill, Sir William (though with great difficulty) made him to new write it and subscribe Hugh Tyrone."



CHARLES BLOUNT, LORD MOUNTJOY

After the painting by Juan Pantoja

CHAPTER XIII

The Downfall of Essex

The curious Character of Essex—His Correspondence with Elizabeth—She disapproves of his Conduct—Essex leaves Ireland—He repairs to Court—Elizabeth receives him graciously—Sir William Warren and Tyrone—Tyrone concludes the Truce—Lord Mountjoy appointed Lord Deputy—Arrives with Sir George Carew at Howth—Tyrone's Depredations in the South.

The strain of semi-lunacy in Essex, the lunacy which perturbs highly-wrought natures, and in poets (in the words of a poet) sets the eyes in a fine frenzy rolling, and rightly doth possess a poet's brain, was evident in his correspondence with Elizabeth. It was the kind of insanity which possessed Shelley when he saw visions and dreamt dreams, and was driven from Wales by the pistol of a purely imaginary assailant. It was not the species of stupid insanity displayed by Caligula, nor of the kind which in the realm of imaginative literature results in the production of such books as Blake's *Marriage of Heaven and Hell*; it was rather that strange form of everlasting self-consciousness and superabundant vanity which drives a man like Walter Savage Landor occasionally to advocate, or at any rate approve of regicide, and to mourn over the crushing of violets caused by his throwing his *chef* out of the window above the bed in which they were planted, thus causing him to break three of his ribs.

There is little doubt that the great Court official who remarked that the one enemy Essex had was himself, was correct in his judgment. Even when, after much hesitation, he agreed to accept the position of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland,

a post he had most ardently desired, he was much perturbed in mind, and had many misgivings as to the wisdom of the step he was taking. Finally he made up his mind, not that in becoming supreme governor of Ireland he had before him a task well worth the doing, or of even devoting his life to the accomplishment of, but because he deemed it "the fairer choice to command armies than humours". His letter to the Queen, written just before he started for Ireland, is evidence enough of a mind at war with itself, and if further evidence were wanting of his craziness or super-sentimentalism, it will be found in another letter written by him to Elizabeth a week before his meeting with Tyrone. In this epistle he warns the Queen that she must expect nothing from a man weary of life, whose past services have been requited by "banishment and proscription into the most cursed of all countries", and almost suggesting that he meditated suicide as the only means of escape. Possibly he thought by playing thus on the Queen's known affection for him he might be hastily recalled, and thus his reputation might be saved. But Elizabeth the Queen was no weakling. The daughter of "bluff King Hal", she who had awaited the approach of the great Armada with serenity of spirit and had reviewed her forces at Tilbury, bidding her soldiers stand firm in the face of great odds, now scolded her young favourite in the style that a grandmother might have done, but also in terms suitable to the occasion, and used in a vain endeavour to recall him to a sense of duty.

"Before your departure", wrote the Queen, "no man's counsel was held sound which persuaded not presently the main prosecution in Ulster; all was nothing without that, and nothing was too much for that"; now Essex had disappointed the world's expectation. He had wasted both time and money and had done nothing. He had acted contrary to the Queen's instructions, and in such a way that his actions were "carried in such sort as we were sure to have no time to countermand them". The Queen had supplied the Lord-

Lieutenant more liberally with men and money than she had any of his predecessors. Now she wished him to account for the loss of 15,000 men, who were no longer in active service. She upbraided Essex for his inactivity and his "slow proceeding", and asked what improvements he had made in the general condition of the country, "especially since by your continual report of the state of every province you describe them all to be in worse condition than ever they were before you put foot in that kingdom".

When Elizabeth heard of the conference with Tyrone she censured Essex for his weakness in granting a private interview, which she saw was an error of judgment on the Viceroy's part. Tyrone, in her opinion, was a man of words, and would readily parley with anyone, however humble, who represented the State, for by multiplicity of words he gained time. She had never doubted that Tyrone would be ready to parley—"specially with our supreme general of the kingdom, having often done it with those of subaltern authority, always seeking these cessations with like words, like protestations" . . . "yet both for comeliness, example, and your own discharge, we marvel you would carry it no better". He need not, she asserted, endeavour to hide himself behind the Council, for had she intended that the Council should override the Viceroy instead of the Viceroy's directing the Council, it would have been "very superfluous to have sent over such a personage as yourself". With such a mental equipment as that possessed by Essex, it followed of necessity that his dispatches were compounded of moonshine and mist. Facts, being ugly things, were put aside or hidden away, and the Queen, who loved stern realities and faced them with intrepidity, hated obscure phraseology: "We cannot tell," she wrote, "but by divination, what to think may be the issue of this proceeding . . . to trust this traitor upon oath is to trust a devil upon his religion. To trust him upon pledges is a mere illusory . . . unless he yield to have garrisons

planted in his own country to master him, and to come over to us personally here." Finally, lest there should be any uncertainty as to future action, Essex was forbidden to ratify the truce (though according to agreement such ratification was to be by mouth only), nor was he to grant a pardon to Tyrone without authority from the Queen herself, "after he had particularly advised by writing" the progress of his negotiations with Tyrone.

Seven days after the date of this letter Essex repaired to London, ignoring by so doing the very stringent orders he had received not to leave Ireland without a special warrant. Before leaving he swore in as Lords Justices Archbishop Loftus and Sir George Carey, the Vice-Treasurer. Ormonde remained, under his old commission, in command of the army. Essex charged them all to keep the cessation of arms precisely, but to stand on their guard and to have all garrisons fully victualled for six months. This done, he hastened to London and arrived at Court "so full of dirt and mire that his very face was full of it". His knowledge of women must have been very scanty, for in this filthy condition he flung himself into the Queen's bedchamber — the Queen who in her girlhood had complained of Sir Henry Beddingfield that his boots smelt of the stable—and, falling on his knees, he kissed her hands. How high he stood in the great Queen's affectionate regard may be judged from the fact that although she was but "newly up, the hair about her face", Elizabeth received him so graciously that he declared later that "though he had suffered much trouble and storm abroad, he found a sweet calm at home". The Queen now was getting old, and was notoriously fond of keeping up a youthful appearance, yet when her beloved though besmudged cavalier burst into her bedroom, and on his knees seized her hands to press mud-bespattered lips upon them, and lifting his eyes sees her face (with the hair about it) more like that of a sibyl than of a Venus, she

welcomes his return! An hour later the hare-brained Earl, clothed no doubt in purple and fine linen, but scarcely in his right mind, had an audience with his sovereign which lasted an hour.

Cecil in the meantime had been closeted with Lord Grey de Wilton, also newly arrived from Ireland, where during the campaign in Leinster he had been placed under arrest by the Viceroy for exceeding orders, a circumstance he was not likely to forget. It is not astonishing, therefore, that Essex thought Cecil and his friends somewhat cold in their demeanour towards him.

In Ulster matters were peaceable, save for some slight excursions and alarums caused by Tyrone's friends rather than by his followers, for the Earl himself kept the terms of the truce to the letter. He had three several parleys with Sir William Warren, who seems to have kept up his old friendship for Tyrone. "In all the speeches", Warren wrote, "which passed between him and me, he seemed to stand chiefly upon a general liberty of religion throughout the kingdom. I wished him to demand some other thing reasonable to be had from Her Majesty, for I told him that I thought Her Majesty would no more yield to that demand than she would give her crown from her head." A letter arriving, during Warren's stay at Dundalk, addressed to "Lord O'Neill, Chief Lieutenant of Ireland", Warren laughed at the superscription. "I asked him", he says, "to whom the devil he could be Lieutenant? He answered me, 'Why should I not be a Lieutenant as well as the Earl of Ormonde?'"

Tired of awaiting the return of the Lord-Lieutenant, Tyrone, on 8th of November, 1599, gave Warren the stipulated fourteen days' notice to conclude the truce, giving as his reason certain injuries received. He also sent a duplicate of this announcement to Ormonde, as Lord-General of the Army in Ireland, and added: "I wish you command your secretary to be more discreet and to use the word Traitor as

seldom as he may. By chiding there is little gotten at my hands, and they that are joined with me fight for the Catholic religion, and liberties of our country, the which I protest before God is my whole intention." In order to make assurance doubly sure, Tyrone also addressed Essex as Viceroy, stating he looked to His Excellency to see justice done, and that he had declared war "first of all for having seven score of my men killed by the Earl of Ormonde in time of cessation, besides divers others of the Geraldines, who were slain by the Earl of Kildare. Another cause is because I made my agreement only with your lordship, in whom I had my only confidence, who, as I am given to understand, is now restrained from your liberty, for what cause I know not."

In October, 1599, Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, was again offered the government of Ireland, and again he refused it. He knew that Ireland was the grave of buried reputations. Besides, he "loved my lord of Essex", and may have thought that Essex would be sent back. There may have been in addition another reason, and the most powerful of them all, for his not wishing to leave England, and that was his love for Lady Penelope Devereux, now Lady Rich, and a sister of Essex, to whom he was united in marriage, some years later, by that great ecclesiastic William Laud. In November, Mountjoy, notwithstanding his refusal to accept office in Ireland, was commanded to be ready to sail within twenty days. Mountjoy was both disgusted and depressed by the prospect. He wrote to the Queen saying that there was no one in Ireland whom he could trust, and he added, referring to Raleigh's well-known influence with Elizabeth on Irish affairs: "This employment of me is by a private man that never knew what it was to divide public and honourable ends from his own, propounded and laboured to you (without any respect to your public service) the more eagerly, by any means to rise to his long-expected fortune. Wherein, by reason of the experience I have heard your Majesty holds him to have in

CAPTURE OF THE EARL OF ORMONDE BY OWEN MACRORY, 10TH APRIL, 1600

From a contemporary drawing preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin

that country, he is like to become my judge, and is already so proud of this plot that he cannot keep himself from bragging of it." Mountjoy took leave of the Queen on the 24th of January, 1600. A fortnight later he left London with an escort of 100 horse, and landed at Howth, with the title of Lord Deputy, on the 24th February, accompanied by Sir George Carew, soon after appointed to succeed Sir Warham Sentleger as Lord President of Munster.

In the more or less undisturbed possession of its native princes, Ulster had now enjoyed some years of internal peace, and Tyrone resolved to make a journey to the south, in order to ascertain by personal observation what were the hopes and prospects of the country. For this purpose, having left garrisons at the principal points along his own frontier, he set out in January (the same month as that in which Mountjoy kissed hands on his appointment as Viceroy) with a force of nearly 3000 men. He marched through Westmeath, wasting, as he passed, the lands of Lord Delvin and Theobald Dillon, till their owners submitted to him. He next ravaged the territory of O'Carroll of Ely, to punish him for the treacherous murder of some of the MacMahons of Oriel, whom, after inviting them to enter his service as soldiers, he had thus slain. Of this ravaging of Ely O'Carroll the Four Masters tell us: "All its movable possessions were carried away, and nothing left but ashes instead of corn, and embers in place of mansions. Great numbers of men, women, sons and daughters were left in a dying state." If this be thought severe, surely the punishment fits the crime of hiring warriors and then killing instead of paying them when settling day came round!

Tyrone then continued his march by Roscrea and the present Templemore, to the abbey of Holy Cross, where the relic from which the monastery took its name was brought out to do him honour. Tyrone presented many rich gifts to the monks, and extended his protection to the lands of the abbey.

The Earl of Ormonde, at the head of the royal army, approached Tyrone in his passage through Eliogarty, but avoided a collision. At Cashel James FitzThomas, whom he had created Earl of Desmond, joined Tyrone with some men, and accompanied him through the county of Limerick into Cork, by the Pass of Bearna-dhearg, or Red Chair. He then laid waste the lands of the loyalist David Lord Barry, who had remained firmly loyal since his pardon in Lord Gray's time. Tyrone reviled him for deserting the cause of the Church, and as being the chief cause of the southern nobility not joining the standard of rebellion. "Her Highness", replied Barry, "hath never restrained me from matters of religion." He then demanded the restoration of some of his followers who had been captured, and of some 4000 cattle and 3000 horses which had been confiscated by Tyrone. These Barry never regained, but he defied Tyrone, and declared that with Her Majesty's assistance he would be revenged. He had hoped to have saved the island on which Queenstown now stands, but he was unable to defend it, and Tyrone, landing, burned every house upon the island.

CHAPTER XIV

Mountjoy's Methods

Sir George Carew appointed President of Munster—Sir Henry Docwra given Command at Lough Foyle—Death of Tyrone's son-in-law, Hugh Maguire, and of Sir Warham St. Leger—Tyrone leaves Munster—His Continental Allies —Ormonde taken Prisoner by Owny MacRory—Docwra builds Forts at Derry —Tyrone attacks Mountjoy—Sir Art O'Neill joins the English.

When Mountjoy became Lord Deputy several minor posts became vacant, and the Deputy was naturally asked as to who should fill them. One of these was the Presidency of Munster, rendered vacant by the death of Sir Thomas Norris, and the duties of which were attended to by Sir Warham St. Leger and Sir Henry Power as acting commissioners for the Province. Mountjoy, as we have seen, named Sir George Carew (later Earl of Totnes), who was appointed Lord President and accompanied Mountjoy to Ireland. Another important post was that of Commander of the Forces of Lough Foyle, and for this Mountjoy nominated Sir Henry Docwra, who had served under Bingham in Connaught, and under Essex at Cadiz. The fortifications at Lough Foyle were manned with a force consisting of 4000 foot and 200 horse, while by official orders from England 3000 foot and 250 horse were allotted to the Presidency of Munster, leaving under the Deputy's immediate control a force of about 5000 men.

In the meantime, Tyrone, taking advantage of these changes in the government of the country, did what he liked in Munster. Early in March (1600) he encamped at Inishcarra, between the Rivers Lee and Bandon, about eight miles

from Cork, where he remained twenty days, during which Florence MacCarthy, of Carberry, and the O'Donohoes, O'Donovans, Donnell O'Sullivan Beare, the O'Mahonys, and many others, either submitted and paid homage to him in person, or sent presents as tokens of submission.

While thus encamped at Inishcarra, Tyrone suffered a very severe loss. One of his trustiest lieutenants was his son-in-law, Hugh Maguire, who, while exploring the country-side, accompanied only by a priest and two horsemen named MacCaffry and O'Durneen, met Sir Warham St. Leger and Sir Henry Power, the acting commissioners of Munster, riding in advance of a party of sixty horse. Maguire was renowned among the Irish for his bravery and skill, and St. Leger was by no means an unworthy foe. Not dismayed by the number of the enemy, Maguire, half-pike in hand, rode at St. Leger, who fired his pistol at the Irish chief as he approached, mortally wounding him. Maguire, notwithstanding, urged his horse forward, and transfixed St. Leger, who turned his head in a vain endeavour to avoid the blow, and thus the two leaders fell by each other's hands.

The death of Maguire and the news that the new Lord Deputy was marching against him from Dublin determined Tyrone to withdraw rather precipitately from Munster. Leaving behind him 1800 men, under the command of Richard Tyrrell, he marched through the east of Cork, and, travelling sometimes at the rate of twenty-seven miles a day, he eluded Mountjoy, who thought while the Earls of Ormonde and Thomond guarded the passes near Limerick and west of the Shannon he should find it easy to cut off Tyrone's retreat to Ulster. In this, however, he was mistaken. Notwithstanding the precautions taken to intercept his march, Tyrone arrived in his own territory without striking a blow or even seeing an enemy. Thus the authorities had "the great dishonour of this traitor passing home to his den unfought with".

Photo. Mansell

JAMES I OF ENGLAND

From the painting by Van Somer in Hampton Court Palace

Tyrone's position was now, in some respects, that of uncrowned King of Ireland. The fame of his victory at the Blackwater had spread throughout the Continent, and had given the best contradiction to many false reports of the total subjugation of the Irish. Matthew of Oviedo, a Spaniard, who had been nominated Archbishop of Dublin by the Pope, brought indulgences to all those who had fought for the Catholic faith in Ireland, and to Tyrone himself a crown of Phœnix feathers; while from Philip III, who had succeeded in 1598 Philip II as King of Spain, he brought the sum of 22,000 golden pieces to pay the Irish soldiers. But though Tyrone was now back in Ulster his allies and agents were still in the south. He had left, as we have seen, 1800 men behind him when he marched north. These were left with Dermot O'Conor Don and Redmond Burke to aid the Earl of Desmond in carrying on the war in Munster.

A meeting was held in Dublin in April (1600), at which Mountjoy, Ormonde, Thomond, Carew, and Docwra were present, and plans were drawn up for the reconquest of Ireland, and on the 7th of April Carew, as President of Munster, set out for his province, having been preceded by the two earls. He reached Kilkenny on the third day, and his company of 100 horse were billeted on the neighbourhood by Ormonde's directions. A conference between Ormonde and Owny MacRory having been arranged for 10th April, Ormonde met him a few miles from Kilkenny, being accompanied at the parley by the Earl of Thomond and Sir George Carew, and attended by some forty mounted men, composed chiefly of "lawyers, merchants, and others, upon hackneys", and with no other weapons save the swords ordinarily worn. Leaving a company of 200 foot about two miles short of the meeting-place, Ormonde proceeded to meet MacRory at a point between Ballyragget and Ballinakill in the Queen's County. Owny brought with him a picked troop of spearmen, leaving in his rear 500 foot and 20 horse, "the best

furnished for war and the best apparelled that we have seen in this kingdom", 300 of them being Ulster mercenaries left by Tyrone on his return to the North. The two parties met upon a heath sloping down towards a narrow defile, and with a bushy wood on either side, "the choice of which ground", says Carew, "we much misliked".

Father James Archer, an Irish Jesuit, famous for his heroic zeal in the cause of his religion and his country, being a Kilkenny man, accompanied MacRory (who called himself The O'More), and entered into an animated discussion with Ormonde. They spoke in English, and, as the argument was heated, the Earl called the Jesuit a traitor, while Archer retaliated by asserting that he was no traitor, the Pope being the Sovereign of Ireland, His Holiness having excommunicated Elizabeth; whereupon Ormonde referred to the Pope in contemptuous tones, and the priest, who was old and unarmed, being irate, raised his cane. No sooner had he done so than a young man named Melaghlin O'More, dreading, perhaps, some violence to Archer, rushed forward and seized the reins of the Earl's horse, and almost at the same moment one or two Irishmen pulled Ormonde from his saddle. Others, wrote Carew and Thomond, "tried to seize us too. We had more hanging on us than is credibly to be believed; but our horses were strong and by that means did break through them, tumbling down on all sides those that were before and behind us; and thanks be to God, we escaped the pass of their pikes, which they freely bestowed and the flinging of their skeynes. . . . Owen MacRory laid hands on me the President, and, next unto God, I must thank my Lord of Thomond for my escape, who thrust his horse upon him. And at my back a rebel, newly protected at my suit, called Brian MacDonogh Kavanagh, being afoot, did me good service. For the rest I must thank my horse, whose strength bore down all about him." In the mêlée one man on either side was slain, and Ormonde and fourteen of his

people made prisoners. Thomond received the stab of a pike in his back, but the wound did not prove dangerous. Ormonde remained a prisoner in O'More's hands until the 12th of June, when he was set at liberty at the desire of Tyrone, to whom the Countess of Ormonde applied for his liberation. He then wrote to the Queen: "It may please your sacred Majesty to be advertised that it pleased God of His Goodness to deliver me, though weak and sick, from the most malicious, arrogant and vile traitor of the world, Owen MacRory, forced to put into his hands certain hostages for payment of £3000, if at any time hereafter I shall seek revenge against him or his, which manner of agreement, although it be very hard, could not be obtained before he saw me in that extremity and weakness, as I was like, very shortly, to have ended my life in his hands."

There were at this time rumours that Ormonde's only child, his daughter and heiress, was to be married in time to come to one of Tyrone's sons. The idea was repudiated on both sides. Tyrone denied it, but took a singular interest in Ormonde's welfare. "Use him honourably," he wrote to O'More from Dungannon, "but keep him very sure until he be sent hither by the help of yourself and such as we have appointed for that purpose. Therefore be not tempted to enlarge him upon any proffer, for if you will desire ransom you shall have money and gold at my hands." Seeing that O'More would not part with his prisoner, Tyrone wrote that he had not desire to have Ormonde's daughter, "for by demanding her, men would say that I should have her for my son". Ormonde, on the other hand, dismissed the idea with contempt: "For any motion", wrote he, "of marriage of my daughter to any of that base traitor Tyrone's brood, upon my duty of allegiance to your Highness, I never thought of any like matter, neither was it demanded of me."

On the 16th of May a fleet from England arrived in Lough Foyle, having touched, in its passage, at Carrick-

fergus to take up some troops that had marched from Dublin. This fleet conveyed an army of 4000 foot and 200 horse, under the command of Sir Henry Docwra, and on board were master carpenters and master masons, with spars and battens for building, and a large quantity of tools and victuals were also provided. Sufficient forethought was exhibited in the provision of 100 flock beds in case of sickness, for Randolph's experiences were remembered. There were also three pieces of cannon. The troops disembarked at Culmore, on the Donegal side of the bay, and constructed a fort there, in which Lancelot Atford was left with 600 men; and after visiting Ellogh, or Aileach, where Captain Ellis Flood was placed with 150 men, Sir Henry marched on the 22nd to Derry, where he resolved to erect two forts, and to make a chief plantation. Docwra found Derry "A place in the manner of an island comprehending within it forty acres of ground, whereon were the ruins of an old abbey, of a bishop's house, of two churches, and at one of the ends of it an old castle, the river called Lough Foyle encompassing it all on one side, and a bog, most commonly wet and not easily passable except in two or three places, dividing it from the mainland . . . the ground being high, and therefore dry, and healthy to dwell upon. At that end where the old castle stood, being close to the waterside, I presently resolved to raise a fort to keep our store of ammunition and victuals in, and in the other a little above, where the walls of an old cathedral church were yet standing, to erect another for our future safety and retreat unto upon all occasions." The buildings Docwra erected at Derry were constructed chiefly from the materials of ancient churches which he found there, and from the remains of the monastery of St. Columb-cille. Two ships were sent along the coast for timber and building materials, and a strong party were sent to cut birch in O'Cahan's woods on the other side of the Foyle. "There was", Docwra declared, "not a stick brought home that was

not well fought for"; and added, "of cockle shells to make a lime we discovered infinite plenty of in a little island in the mouth of the harbour as we came in."

To divert Tyrone's attention from the building operations at Derry, Mountjoy made a feint of entering his territory by the Blackwater, in fact the Lord Deputy made, or attempted to make, more than one incursion into Ulster. On the last of these occasions he was repulsed by Tyrone at the Moyry Pass, between Dundalk and Newry; but, owing to some remissness on the part of the Irish, Mountjoy soon after penetrated beyond the pass. Here, however, he was vigorously attacked by Tyrone, and returned to Dublin without effecting any object.

The Irish chiefs then hastened to attack the invaders at Lough Foyle, but the latter stood only on the defensive, and, having entrenched themselves behind strong works, were able to resist the assaults of Tyrone, O'Donnell, and their allies with little loss. A part of the original plan agreed to in Dublin was that 1000 foot and 50 horse, under the command of Captain Matthew Morgan, should be detached from the expedition and sail to Ballyshannon to build another fort there; but this idea was abandoned, and all the troops were found few enough for Docwra's enterprise. The ranks of the royal troops were soon greatly strengthened by the accession of some renegade Irish, the first to come in being Sir Art O'Neill, son of Turlough Lynnagh, who joined Docwra, with a few followers, on the 1st of June, and the garrison combined the pleasure of hunting cows for their own consumption and in skirmishing with the O'Cahans and O'Dogherties.

CHAPTER XV

The Turn of the Tide

O'Donnell's Plundering Excursions—Mountjoy's Marches—He builds and fortifies Forts—Nial Garv O'Donnell joins Docwra—Spanish Ships in Killybegs—The O'Dogherties desert O'Donnell—Fanatical Attempt on Tyrone's Life—The Currency debased—Nial Garv besieged by O'Donnell—Help for the Irish arrives from Spain.

O'Donnell soon grew weary of the slow work of besieging Docwra in his fort at Lough Foyle; his taste was for a more active and desultory warfare. So, leaving the task of watching the movements of the English commander to Nial Garv O'Donnell and O'Dogherty of Innishowen, he set out himself with the hosting of North Connaught, taking with him such men as could be spared from Tirconnell, and marched into the territories of Clanrickard and Thomond. His plundering parties visited almost the whole of Clare, and, the work of pillage having been completed without any opposition, he returned by the 24th of June to his own territory. While he was in Clare he pitched his camp at Ennis, and "many a feast," say the Annalists, "fit for a goodly gentleman, or for the lord of a territory, was enjoyed throughout Thomond at night by parties of four or five men, under the shelter of a shrubbery or at the side of a bush". On the 28th of June some English troops were defeated and their leader, Sir John Chamberlaine, slain in an attack on O'Dogherty, his body being pierced by no fewer than sixteen wounds. On the 29th of July O'Donnell drove off, from their pasture before Derry, a great number of the English horses, and repulsed

Sir Henry Docwra, who went in pursuit with a strong force, the commandant himself receiving a wound in the forehead which obliged him to return to his fortress.

Mountjoy now established a camp at Faughard, near Dundalk. The heavy and continual rains caused the health of the soldiers to suffer, and the army, nominally 4000 strong, was actually under 3000. "Our tents", wrote Mountjoy, "are often blown down, and at this instant it doth rain into mine, so that I can scant write." Tyrone did what he could to harass and impede the progress of the Lord Deputy, but, recognizing the futility of his efforts, he left the passage open to Newry, and Mountjoy seized the opportunity given him to make the passage more practicable. Half-way between Newry and Armagh the Lord Deputy built a strong fort, which he named Mount Norris, in memory of Sir John Norris. Tyrone hovered near but could do nothing to hinder the work, and the fort was finished, victualled, and garrisoned in one week. Mountjoy now proclaimed a reward of £2000 for Tyrone alive and £1000 for him dead. He then returned to Carlingford, as his men were suffering from scarcity of provisions. The narrow pass between the mountains near Carlingford was disputed by Tyrone, the result being an engagement in which Mountjoy's chief secretary was killed. Fynes Moryson, the historian, was appointed to fill his place. In this engagement Tyrone narrowly escaped being killed. Fynes Moryson, who was at Dundalk with his brother, the Governor, says "the Irish lost 800 men, while the English had 200 killed and 400 not seriously wounded", adding that "Tyrone's reputation (who did all things by reputation) was clean overthrown, so that from all places they began to seek pardons and protections".

In October O'Donnell set out on another plundering excursion to Thomond, leaving the command at home to his brother-in-law, Nial Garv O'Donnell, grandson of Calvagh. Nial Garv, seeing, no doubt, that the Irish cause

in the face of such odds was hopeless, came in to Docwra, bringing with him his brothers, Hugh Boy, Donnell, and Con, and 100 men, whereupon Docwra promised him Tirconnell as soon as Hugh Roe was expelled. The garrison of Derry had been very closely pressed, and Nial Garv's arrival was warmly welcomed, for it meant a plentiful supply of fresh meat to the beleaguered force. The condition of the English in Derry had been pitiable—"men wasted with continual labours, the island scattered with cabins full of sick, our biscuit all spent, our other provisions of nothing but meal, butter, and a little wine, and that, by computation, to hold out but six days longer".

The first task set Nial Garv was to take Lifford, and for this purpose over 300 men were sent under his guidance. Hugh Roe had left but thirty men in charge, and on Nial Garv's approach these fled, after setting fire to the place so effectually that but thirty houses were left standing. O'Donnell, on hearing of his kinsman's defection, hastily returned, and devoted thirty days to a vain endeavour to retake the place. Some skirmishes took place, in one of which Captain Heath was killed, and Nial Garv had a horse shot under him. O'Donnell then departed to secure his men in winter quarters, but not before he had the satisfaction of learning that Sir Art O'Neill had succumbed to a fever brought on by "drinking too many carouses on his marriage day".

Two Spanish ships arrived off the Connaught coast about the beginning of November, and, at the desire of O'Donnell, put into the harbour of Killybegs. O'Donnell immediately sent notice to Tyrone, who hastened to Donegal, where the two chiefs divided the money, arms, and ammunition sent to them from Spain, and distributed these gifts among their adherents. During the winter months many services were rendered to the English by Nial Garv, and so greatly were they appreciated that Docwra confesses that but for his

"intelligence and guidance" little or nothing could have been done by the English troops at Lough Foyle.

Nial Garv and his brothers, Hugh, Donnell, and Con, made many raids from Lifford into Tyrone, in one of which they took Newton, now Newton Stewart, from the O'Neills. O'Donnell now endeavoured to secure Nial Garv, and with that end in view he employed two men named Hugh Boy and Phelim Reagh, both MacDevitts (a sept of the O'Doghertys), to decoy Nial Garv by pretending to be friends with Captain Lancelot Atford, Governor of Culmore. Atford, on hearing this, in order to draw them into an ambuscade, agreed to give up Nial Garv on conditions. These were agreed to, and included £1000 down. An hour was appointed for the transfer, matters even going so far that, as earnest, a gold chain, the gift of Philip II of Spain to O'Donnell, was handed over to Atford. Notwithstanding all these elaborate arrangements the deal never came off, the Irish breaking tryst, with the result that Hugh Boy and Phelim Reagh forsook O'Donnell and joined hands with Docwra.

O'Donnell made yet another serious error of judgment. He had in safe keeping a youth named Cahir, a son of the Irish chieftain, Sir John O'Dogherty, and had promised that he should succeed his father; but, when the time came for him to fulfil his promise, he, having found Cahir's uncle of much service to him, declared in the elder man's favour. Cahir had been fostered (after the manner of the Irish) by members of the sept to which Hugh Boy and Phelim Reagh belonged, and they were so wroth with O'Donnell for his breach of faith regarding Cahir that they repaired to Docwra and promised to keep Innishowen at his service if their protégé were established in the chieftaincy. Pressure was brought to bear on O'Donnell, and he set young Cahir at liberty, whereupon the entire sept of O'Dogherty forsook O'Donnell, and, taking all their cattle with them, left for their own

district. The history of Ireland abounds in betrayals. This is only one instance, which could be repeated *ad nauseam*, of how the Irish, by fighting amongst themselves, were defeated by the common foe. "They had their own ends in it," remarked Docwra dryly, "which were always for private revenge; and we ours, to make use of them for the furtherance of the public service."

The early months of 1601 were spent by Mountjoy in devastating the central districts. In June he once more crossed the Pass of Moyry, and erected a strong castle on the northern side. He then marched beyond Slieve Fuaid and the Blackwater, burning and destroying the crops as he passed. The Barony of Farney, in Monaghan, was next invaded, and the adherents of Ever MacCooly MacMahon had their houses burned; after which Mountjoy stayed for a month at Drogheda. The Lord Deputy was tired of marching and countermarching, and longed for a solution of the Irish problem one way or the other. He told Carew that he could, from very ennui, welcome the Spaniards, "but I fear", he said, "they are too wise to come into this country, whom God amend or confound, and send us a quiet return and a happy meeting in the land of good meat and clean linen, lest by our long continuing here we turn knaves with this generation of vipers, and slovens with eating draff with these swine".

Mountjoy was particularly active during the summer months, planning and erecting forts and strengthening others. In Armagh he placed a garrison of 750 foot and 100 horse. A post was established at Downpatrick, and the Lord Deputy crossed the Blackwater. From this he threatened Tyrone's castle of Benburb; but, though there was much firing, no one of note was injured save the chaplain, Doctor Latwater, who, "affecting some singularity of forwardness more than his place required", was shot in the head.

In July an Englishman named Thomas Walker visited

Ireland, and on reaching Armagh informed the governor, Sir Henry Danvers, that he was going to kill Tyrone, and that the idea originated with him and that he required no assistance. Danvers, who no doubt thought it no great harm to assassinate a traitor on whose head a price had been placed, and possibly anxious to do something to obliterate from men's memories his brother's (Sir Charles) connection with Essex's treasonable folly, consulted Mountjoy, and finally gave Walker leave to pass the English sentinels on his way to Tyrone's camp. Walker, in common parlance, had "a slate off", for we learn from his account that when he succeeded in reaching Tyrone's presence and told him of the force at Armagh, he turned pale! From Walker's report, which must be taken *cum grano salis*, we learn that Tyrone was dressed in a frieze jacket open in front; but as Walker stood before him with a sword in his hand his heart failed him. There is little use in following the maunderings of this visionary, who, on being sent back to England, maintained that he never thought of assassinating Tyrone until he found himself in Ireland! Walker was pronounced to be of unsound mind, and Mountjoy considered him "little better than frantic" (fanatic), adding, significantly, "not the less fit on that account for such a purpose".

Continual dropping of water will wear away a stone, and the Irish troubles and the terrible expense they put her to were having a disastrous effect on the health of Elizabeth. The great Queen, clear-minded and far-seeing, now permitted herself to be persuaded into a measure which never spelt anything but disaster to all who adopted it. We have seen how, from the days of Henry VIII, the debasing of the currency was always attended with miseries manifold, poverty, starvation, and death. The Queen recognized that such a measure was a mistake, and one which of necessity must spell ruin. Lord Treasurer Buckhurst, however, carried the day, and by proclamation all coin current in Ireland was

cried down, and new twelvepenny, sixpenny, and threepenny pieces were issued, containing only threepence worth of silver to each shilling. Insult was added to injury by these coins being issued with the device of the Wild Harp of Erin engraven on one side. The new coinage was only value to the extent of nineteen shillings in the pound, and had no currency in England. The only known person who profited by this state of things was Sir George Carey, the Vice-Treasurer, who controlled the course of exchange. Mountjoy protested in vain: "the alteration of the coin, and taking away of the exchange, in such measure as it was first promised, hath bred a general grievance unto men of all qualities, and so many incommodities to all sorts, that it is beyond the judgment of any that I can hear to prevent a confusion in this estate by the continuance thereof". The subject was a sore one to Fynes Moryson, who pointed out that it was not the rebels who suffered by the debasing of the coinage but the Royalists; he says: "we served in discomfort and come home beggars, so that only the treasurers and paymasters had cause to bless the authors of this invention".

Some of the smaller chieftains in Tirconnell went over to the English, and O'Donnell was kept in a state of constant activity by enemies on every side. The young Earl of Clanrickard marched against him, but was compelled to retire, and Nial Garv was sent by Docwra, with 500 men, to occupy the monastery of Donegal, where he was besieged by O'Donnell. On the evening of the 29th of September some gunpowder exploded in the monastery and set fire to the building, this being a signal to O'Donnell to attack the garrison. A struggle, of which the horrors were intensified by the conflagration and the surrounding darkness, was kept up during the night, but Nial Garv held out with indomitable courage. He was supported by an English ship in the harbour, and retreated next morning, with the remnant of his troops, to the monastery of Magherabeg,

which he fortified and defended against O'Donnell's renewed attacks.

On the 20th of September, 1601, the Spanish fleet of forty-five sail was seen off Old Kinsale Head. The long-expected aid from Spain had arrived, and for the moment the attention of all men in Ireland and England, friends and foes alike, was turned towards the south.

CHAPTER XVI

A Spanish Invasion

The Promised Aid from Spain arrives—The Spaniards enter and fortify Kinsale—Mountjoy and Carew leave Kilkenny for Cork—The Spanish General's Proclamation—The Spaniards find no Allies—O'Donnell's March to join them—Intercepted by Carew, but escapes—Mountjoy besieges Kinsale—Arrival of Reinforcements for the Spanish.

The Spanish fleet, conveying an army of about 3500 men, most of them veteran soldiers, under the command of Don Juan del Aguila, entered the harbour of Kinsale on the 23rd of September; and the English garrison, which was less than 100 strong, having evacuated the town on their approach and retired to Cork, the Spaniards marched in with twenty-five colours, and taking possession of the town proceeded to fortify themselves there, also in two castles which defended the harbour, that of Rincorran on the east and Castle Park on the west.

Mountjoy was at Kilkenny when he received news of the invasion, and a council of war was hastily summoned, at which Ormonde and Wingfield urged the Lord Deputy to return to Dublin and arrange his forces, while Carew should make ready to prepare for supplies at Cork. But the Lord President of Munster knew his province, and begged the Lord Deputy not to turn his back on the scene of action. His doing so, he urged, would be fatal, for it would be attributed to weakness, and the result would be a general revolt. The army also, he said, would naturally hasten to the field of conflict all the more readily when its general had preceded it.

Carew's words carried weight, and when he backed them up by announcing that he had supplies sufficient to maintain the whole army for some months, Mountjoy arose from his chair and embraced him (after the manner of those days), with many hearty expressions of commendation. The following day the Deputy and President set out with an escort of 100 horse and reached Kiltinan, where they were entertained by Lord Dunboyne; the next night was spent at Clonmel, and the third found the travellers the guests of Lord Roche at his castle of Glanworth. After a day spent at Cork, Mountjoy proceeded to reconnoitre, and, taking horse to a point from which he could overlook Kinsale, he discovered to his astonishment that the Spanish fleet had departed. Nothing could be done to disturb the enemy until the army arrived from Dublin, so the Deputy had to content himself with burning the corn for five miles round Kinsale, and issuing a proclamation warning the inhabitants to beware of taking part with the Pope and the King of Spain.

The Spanish general, who could not understand the spirit of a national rising, and had no sympathy for a rebellion of any kind, called on the people to rise in the name of the Pope.

"First of all, ye feign that we would lead away the pretended subjects of the Queen of England from their allegiance, to bring them thence under our yoke, which is a very untruth; for we endeavour not to persuade anybody, that he should deny true obedience (according to the true Word of God) to his prince; but ye know well that, for many years since, Elizabeth was deprived of her kingdom, and all her subjects absolved from their fidelity, by the Pope, under whom He that reigneth in the heavens, the King of kings, hath committed all power, that he should root up, destroy, plant, and build in such sort, that he may punish temporal kings (if it shall be good for the spiritual building), even to their deposing, which thing hath been done in the kingdoms of England and Ireland by many Popes, namely, by Pius V,

Gregory XIII, and now by Clement VIII, as it is well known, whose Bulls are extant amongst us.

"I speak to Catholics, not to froward heretics (who have fallen from the faith of the Roman Church). Seeing they are blind leaders of the blind, and such as know not the grounds of the truth, it is no marvel that they do also disagree from us in this thing, that our brethren the Catholics, walking in the pureness of faith, and yielding to the Catholic Church (which is the very pillar of truth), will easily understand all these things. Therefore it remaineth that the Irish (which adhere to us) do work with us nothing that is against God's laws, or their due obedience—nay, that which they do is according to God's Word, and the obedience which they owe the Pope.

"Who is there that hath demolished all the temporalities of this most flourishing kingdom, except the English? Look upon this and be ashamed. Whereas we, commiserating the condition of the Catholics here, have left our most sweet and happy country, Spain, that is replenished with all good things; and being stirred by their cries, which pierce the heavens, having reached to the ears of the Pope and our good King Philip (III), they have (being moved with pity) at last resolved to send unto you soldiers, silver, gold, and arms, with a most liberal hand, not to the end they might (according as they feign) exercise cruelty towards you, O Irish Catholics, but that you may be happily reduced (being snatched out of the jaws of the Devil, and freed from their tyranny) into your own pristine ingenuity, and that you may freely profess the Catholic faith.

"Therefore, my most beloved, seeing that which you have so many years before desired and begged for, with prayers and tears, and that now—even now—the Pope, Christ's Vicar on earth, doth command you to take arms for the defence of your faith, I admonish, exhort, and beseech you all—all, I say, unto whom these letters shall come—that as soon as

possibly you can, you come to us with your friends and weapons; whosoever shall do this, shall find us prepared; and we will communicate unto them those things which we possess; and whosoever shall (despising our wholesome counsel) do otherwise, and remain in the obedience of the English, we will prosecute him as an heretic, and a hateful enemy of the Church, even unto death."

There was with Don Aguila, a Spanish Franciscan, one Matthew de Oviedo, the same as he who a little earlier brought a crown of Phœnix feathers to Tyrone from the Pope. This Oviedo had previously been papal commissary with Desmond twenty years; he was in addition titular Archbishop of Dublin, and was probably the author of the document of which the text is given above. He now wrote in his own name to Tyrone and O'Donnell, and Don Juan sent frequently to them urging upon them to hasten their coming, for the Spanish general's proclamation had little or no effect. "Don Juan doth procure," a Spanish authority states, "to draw from the country people, by love and reward all he can; yet, with all this, findeth no assurance from them; and the greater part have no will, seeing the small forces which have landed; but, seeing that there are more, they be still coming, and some of them receive pay, it will be very requisite to pay and arm them, because till now many of them are past to the enemy."

The army which Carew had under his command consisted of 3000 men, of whom, at least, 2000 were Irish, and the entire royal army at this time mustered about 7000 men. The Spaniards were not more than about half the number originally destined for Ireland; but ill-luck seemed to attend this expedition from the beginning. Owing to the absence of the fleet at Terceira, its departure was retarded, until the 6000 men originally composing the armament were diminished to less than 4000; and when the expedition did sail it encountered a storm that compelled seven of the ships, conveying a chief

part of the artillery and military stores and the arms intended for distribution to the Irish, to put back to Corunna. Tyrone and O'Donnell had besought Philip to send his aid to Ulster, where they would be prepared to co-operate with their Spanish allies, and where a smaller force would have sufficed, while in Munster they could give no help; and yet this small army was thrown into an inconsiderable part of the southern province long after the war there had been totally extinguished. The Spaniards also had been given to understand that horses would be provided for the 1600 saddles which they had brought with them. These certainly would have been supplied them had they landed at Killybegs; but, as it was, they were without cavalry, and, worse luck still, without allies, and surrounded on all sides by active foes.

The northern chiefs, notwithstanding the distance and the difficulties of so long a journey in winter, prepared to set out to join their unfortunate allies. O'Donnell, with characteristic ardour and alacrity, was first on the way. He was joined by Felim O'Dogherty, MacSweeney-na-tuath, O'Boyle, O'Rourke, the brother of O'Conor Sligo, the O'Conor Roe, MacDermot, O'Kelly, some of the O'Flaherties, William and Redmond Burke, and others, and mustered about 2500 hardy men. FitzMaurice of Kerry, and the Knight of Glin, who had been with him for some time, were also in this corps. He set out about the end of October, and had reached Ikerrin, in Tipperary, where he proposed to await Tyrone, when he found that Sir George Carew, with 1000 foot and 250 horse, was encamped in the plains of Cashel, to cut off his advance to the south, while Sir Christopher St. Laurence with the army of the Pale and some irregular forces under Lord Barry's command were approaching from Leinster. To the west the season rendered the lofty mountains impassable to an army encumbered with baggage. Fortunately for O'Donnell, a frost of unusual intensity suddenly set in and formed a fine open road for him over the bogs. Of this he

availed himself, and by a circuitous route across Slieve Phelim, close to the Abbey of Owney, he reached Croom on the 23rd of November, after a march in one day of thirty-two Irish miles. Carew hastened to intercept O'Donnell on his descent from Slieve Phelim into Limerick, but found he had already passed, and, despairing of being able to cope with "so swift-footed a general", he rejoined the Lord Deputy, then besieging Kinsale, and left O'Donnell to pursue his march.

Mountjoy, having marched from Cork, encamped at Knock Robin, a hill close to Kinsale. He had to await the arrival of ships with guns and tools. These came to Cork, and were sent round to Oyster Haven, where there was no difficulty in unlading them. The English opened on Rincorran, "but within two or three shot the carriage of the better culverin brake, and, about two of the clock in the afternoon, the other received a flaw". In the morning the culverin, having been repaired, "began to play, and about nine of the clock the demi-culverin was mounted, which after a few shot brake her axletree; before three she was remounted, and by that time a cannon likewise planted, and all three pieces without intermission played". By six o'clock the besieged called for a parley. They offered to surrender the fort on condition of being allowed to depart with arms and baggage. This was refused, and the battery continued until two in the morning, when some of the besieged attempted to escape, and a score of Spaniards were taken and thirty killed. The following morning the fort was surrendered. The Captain having had his leg broken, the second in command was permitted to carry out his own sword and hand it to Carew. He was a brave man this Don Bartholomeo Paez de Clavijo, and wished to blow up the fort with himself and his eighty-six warriors in it. But his men did not see matters in the same light, and threatened, if he attempted any such thing, to give him a more ignominious death by casting him over the walls. Of the Irish all the

fighting-men escaped, but "churls", women, and children were taken. The lives of the Spaniards were spared, and they were sent to Cork. Among the prisoners was one Don Dermutio, otherwise Dermot MacCarthy, an Irishman who had been in Florence's service, and had lived in Spain as a pensioner. As he was considered a dangerous foe, he was hanged at Cork to prevent him doing any further damage, and possibly, as in Byng's case long afterwards, *pour encourager les autres.*

Meanwhile the siege, as sieges are wont to do, went slowly, very slowly on. Captain Josiah Bodley, a brother of the founder of the great Oxford library, proved himself an admirable engineer officer. Thomond now arrived from England with 1000 foot and 100 horse, and Sir Richard Leveson also arrived with his squadron and 2000 soldiers. Armed now with all the sinews of war, the siege began in earnest. Castle Park, on the west side of the harbour, was taken, and its garrison of seventeen surrendered. The Spaniards made several desperate sorties, in which numbers were slain on both sides; but as the principal portion of their artillery was in those ships which had had to put back, they had only three or four cannon to defend the fortifications, while the English had about twenty pieces of ordnance continually playing on the walls of the town, and an army which, on the 20th of November, amounted, according to Fynes Moryson, to 11,800 foot and 857 horse, but which, in the gross, was probably nearer in numerical strength to 15,000 men.

The twenty guns having done great execution on both man and works, Don Juan was called upon to surrender, but refused to do so, saying he held the town, first for Christ, and then for the King of Spain, and he now made his greatest effort for both. About eight o'clock on the 2nd of December 2000 Spaniards sallied forth and attacked the trenches with great determination. Running headlong forward, blinded by rain and darkness, they managed to spike a gun; but being

overwhelmed by numbers they were beaten back with a loss of 200 killed and as many wounded. Next day the missing portion of the Spanish fleet, under Don Pedro Zubiaur, arrived at Castlehaven, some twenty-five miles west of Kinsale, and landed five guns and over 700 men, some of whom were put in possession of Fineen O'Driscoll's castle of Baltimore, or were accommodated in Donnell O'Sullivan Beare's castle of Dunboy, or at Bearehaven and the fort of Castlehaven. Part of the English fleet, consisting of four men-of-war and two tenders, under Admiral Sir Richard Leveson, was sent from Kinsale to attack the Spaniards at Castlehaven, and a smart action ensued, in which the roar of Sir Richard's guns was heard in Mountjoy's camp. The result was that of the twelve Spanish ships only one escaped; the rest were either "shot-shattered" and sank, or were driven ashore. Leveson was windbound for twenty-four hours, during which time he was the target of the Spaniards, who fired 300 rounds at him, but he was nevertheless able to return uninjured to Kinsale.

CHAPTER XVII

The Siege of Kinsale

Tyrone and O'Donnell arrive on the scene—A Night Attack on the English determined—Treachery in the Irish Camp—The Irish taken unawares—Total Rout and Defeat of the Northerners—O'Donnell sails for Spain—Tyrone returns to Ulster—Kinsale evacuated by the Spaniards—Don Juan de Aguila returns to Spain.

"Hope deferred maketh the heart sick", and sick indeed was the heart of Don Juan de Aguila, who day after day looked in vain for the approach of his Irish allies. Early in November Tyrone began his southward march, and, tarrying on his way to plunder Meath, at length arrived, and on the 21st of December showed himself, with all his forces, on a hill to the north of Kinsale, at a place called Belgoley, about a mile from the English camp. "O'Donnell," said Fenton, "and Tyrone following after, used all the means they could to work the royalists to their side, but have reduced none of reckoning, for anything yet discovered: only they both made havoc of some countries, as a revenge to the loyalists that refused to rise with them." The only allies gained by Tyrone in Munster were in West Cork and Kerry, and they did not declare themselves until the Spanish reinforcements arrived at Castlehaven. Tyrone had with him MacMahon, Maguire, Randal MacSorley MacDonnell, and some of the O'Conors and Burkes, but his chief reliance was placed upon Captain Richard Tyrrell and his mercenaries. His own division must have been under 4000 men, seeing that with O'Donnell's 2500, O'Sullivan Beare's retainers,

and the few others whom the shattered resources of Munster could supply, the whole Irish army amounted to only 6000 foot and 500 horse, with 300 Spaniards from Castlehaven under Captain Alphonso Ocampo; while the English force at this time, allowing for losses, must at least have been 10,000 strong.

The position of the English was now very critical. They were losing great numbers by sickness and desertion, and were so closely hemmed in between the Irish on one side and the Spaniards on the other, that they could procure no fodder for the horses, which it was decided by a council of war held on 23rd of December should be sent away to Cork. In addition, the troops were threatened with famine, so that Mountjoy thought seriously of raising the siege and retiring to Cork for the winter.

On the other hand, the Spaniards in Kinsale had lost all patience. They had been in error as to the state of the country, and on their arrival had learned with chagrin that Florence MacCarthy and the Earl of Desmond were prisoners in London; that the Catholics of Munster could afford them no active co-operation; and that a large portion of the army arrayed against them consisted of Catholic Irish. Their own ships had been sent back to Spain, and the harbour was blockaded by an English squadron, which cut off all hope of succour from abroad.

Under these circumstances Don Juan del Aguila wrote pressing letters to the Irish chiefs, importuning them to come to his assistance without further delay. He was a brave soldier but a somewhat incompetent general, and in his ignorance of their real circumstances had conceived a disgust for, and personal enmity to, the Irish which unfitted him to act effectively with them. He urged them to attack the English camp on a certain night, and promised on his side to make a sortie in full force simultaneously; but when this plan was discussed in the council of the Irish chiefs it was

opposed by Tyrone, who knew full well that with delay the total destruction of the English army by disease and famine was certain. O'Donnell, a much younger man, was "oppressed at heart and ashamed to hear the complaint and distress of the Spaniards without relieving them", and thought they were in honour bound to meet the wishes of their allies. The majority being with him, it was decided that an immediate attack should be made.

The attack might have been successful had there not been treachery in the Irish camp. Brian MacHugh Oge MacMahon, one of Tyrone's chief officers, had a son who had been a page in Carew's service, and on the night of the 22nd of December MacMahon sent a boy to the English camp to ask Captain William Taaffe to procure for him, from the President, a bottle of whisky. The request, for old acquaintance' sake, was readily granted, and next day MacMahon again sent the boy with a letter, in which he thanked Carew for his courtesy, and warned him of the attack which it was decided to make on the English lines that night. This message, which was confirmed by an intercepted letter from Don Juan to Tyrone, put Mountjoy on his guard, and, amongst other precautions against attack, a flying column of about 1000 men was kept under arms.

After some dispute about the command—for it appears that Tyrone and O'Donnell were not at all in accord on this ill-concerted enterprise—the Irish army, on the night of the 23rd of December, set out under cover of the darkness in three divisions. "The chiefs", say the Irish Annalists, "were at variance, each of them contending that he himself should go foremost in the night's attack, so that they set out from their camp in three strong battalions, shoulder to shoulder, and elbow to elbow." O'Neill with the Kinel-Owen and others were in a strong battalion apart; O'Donnell, with the Kinel-Connell, his sub-chieftains, and the Connaught men in general formed the second battalion; those gentlemen of

Munster, Leinster, and Meath, with their forces, who had risen up in the confederacy of the Irish war, and who had been in banishment in Ulster during the preceding part of this year, were in the third.

The darkness of the winter night was broken by frequent flashes of lightning; but this fitful light only rendered the course to be taken more doubtful. The guides missed their way, and, after wandering about all night, Tyrone, at day-break, accompanied by O'Sullivan and Ocampo, ascended a little hill and saw the English entrenchments close at hand, with the men under arms, the cavalry mounted and in advance of their quarters, and all in readiness for battle. His own men were at this time in the utmost disorder, and O'Donnell's division was at a considerable distance. Under these circumstances it was determined that the attack should be postponed. Tyrone drew off his horse to re-form them, and the foot, supposing him to be flying, began on all sides to waver. At this moment O'Donnell came up and made the confusion greater still. The Earl of Clanrickard, who was lashed up to a pitch of wild enthusiasm, implored Wingfield not to lose the opportunity, and in a moment the English cavalry poured out upon the broken masses of Irish, charging them in their disordered state and creating a scene of frightful carnage and confusion, and the retreat, which had actually commenced before the charge, was soon turned into a total rout. Tyrrell and Ocampo's Spaniards made a gallant stand; but the Spanish commander was taken prisoner, and most of his men were cut to pieces. O'Donnell's division came at length into the field, and repulsed a wing of the English cavalry; but the panic became general, and in vain did Red Hugh strain his lungs to rally the flying multitude. Tyrone acted with all his wonted bravery, but all his efforts were fruitless, for the ground, being open and flat, left no scope for his usual tactics. "All", says O'Sullivan, "were seized with panic terror, or rather routed by divine vengeance." The Irish lost something like

2000 men, while the loss of the English was very trifling. "The Earl of Clanrickard", says Mountjoy, "had many fair escapes, being shot through his garments, and no man did bloody his sword more than his lordship that day, and with his own hand he killed above twenty Irish kerne, and cried out to spare no rebel." The pursuit continued for two miles, and was only abandoned owing to the weary condition of the half-starved horses.

The night after their defeat the Irish halted at Inishannon, near Bandon, and no further attempt was made to relieve Kinsale. "There prevailed", say the Annalists, "much reproach on reproach, moaning and dejection, melancholy and anguish, in every quarter throughout the camp. They slept not soundly, and scarcely did they take any refreshment." Tyrone especially was plunged in the deepest dejection. He was already advanced in years, and now seemed to have abandoned all hope of retrieving his lost fortune.

Next day it was resolved that O'Donnell should go to Spain to explain the position to Philip, and that the Ulster chiefs should return home. O'Donnell, who knew well that the reception of the broken columns on their homeward march would be very different to that experienced in marching south, when "it was roses, roses, all the way", urged that the whole army should remain in the south until he brought reinforcements from Spain. But the Irish, true to their tribal traditions, broke up into small companies, and, each sept under its individual chief, struggled homewards. The reception they got was what O'Donnell foretold, for, "they which did kiss them in their going forward, did both strip them, and shoot bullets at them on their return, and for their arms they did drown them and tread them down in every bog and soft place". The straggling army killed their horses for food, the wretched animals being themselves half-starved. It is computed that at least 3000 men and 500 horses were lost on this homeward march.

In the meantime Don Juan, after some fruitless sallies, sent proposals of capitulation, which were accepted by Mountjoy. They were very honourable to the Spaniards, who evacuated Kinsale with their colours flying, and it was agreed that they were to be conveyed back to Spain on giving up their other garrisons of Dunboy, Baltimore, and Castlehaven. Don Juan declared that he felt himself absolved from all engagements to the Irish. "*Noster Rex Philippus*", he said, "had sent him to co-operate with the Condees O'Neill and O'Donnell, who had long delayed their coming; and when they did come they were shamefully defeated by a handful of men" (Carew had said: "A troop of women might have beaten Tyrone's army"), and "blown asunder into divers parts of the world, so as now I find no such Condees *in rerum naturâ* (for those were the very words he used) as I came to join withal, and therefore have moved this accord the rather to disengage the King, my master, from assisting a people so unable in themselves that the whole burden of the war must lie upon him, and so perfidious as perhaps might be induced in requital of his favour at last to betray him."

The siege of Kinsale, which, save that of Londonderry, is the most important in Irish history, had lasted for more than ten weeks, and in it the Spaniards lost about 1000 men; while the loss of the English, by war and by disease, must have been at least 4000 men. Don Juan's chivalry was of the Quixotic kind. He challenged Mountjoy to settle by single combat the questions at issue, but the offer was, of course, rejected. After the surrender of Kinsale an intimate friendship sprang up between him and Sir George Carew, to whom he presented, as a keepsake, a treatise on fortifications.

The Irish, for whom Don Juan expressed contempt, believed him to be guilty of perfidy or cowardice; and O'Sullivan Beare, acting under this impression, contrived to recover possession of his own Castle of Dunboy, by causing a breach to be made in the wall, and entering it with eighty men, at

dead of night, while the Spanish garrison were asleep, and then declaring that he held it for the King of Spain, to whom he had formally transferred his allegiance. He wrote an eloquent letter to Philip, begging for help; and if help could not be given, then he asked that means might at least be provided to carry his family and himself to Spain. Don Juan was enraged when he heard of this proceeding, which he considered a violation of the capitulation, and offered to go himself to dispossess O'Sullivan; but Mountjoy was more desirous for his departure than for his assistance, and the Spaniards reembarked for their own country, some on the 20th of February, and the remainder, with Don Juan, on the 16th of March. Don Juan, on landing in Spain, was placed under arrest, and died of grief.

The news of the victory at Kinsale was conveyed to London by Sir Henry Danvers, and most gracious thanks were sent by the Queen to all concerned, more especially to the Lord Deputy, the Lord President of Munster, and to the Earls of Thomond and Clanrickard. The first news, however, which was unofficial, was brought by that remarkable man, Richard Boyle, afterwards Earl of Cork, who gave in after years the following account of his trip: "I left my Lord President", he said, "at Shandon Castle, near Cork, on Monday morning about two of the clock, and the next day delivered my packet, and supped with Sir Robert Cecil, being then principal Secretary, at his house in the Strand; who, after supper, held me in discourse till two of the clock in the morning, and by seven that morning called upon me to attend him to the Court, where he presented me to Her Majesty in her bedchamber, who remembered me, calling me by name, and giving me her hand to kiss, telling me that she was glad that I was the happy man to bring the first news of the glorious victory. And after her Majesty had interrogated with me upon sundry questions very punctually, and that therein I gave her full satisfaction in every particular, she

gave me again her hand to kiss, and commanded my despatch for Ireland, and so dismissed me with great grace and favour."

The Queen was much relieved that the war was at an end. The loss of men and money had weighed heavily upon her. Now, in order "to save the blood of her subjects, dearer to her than revenge or glory", she even proposed to allow Tyrone to come to terms, though she felt that it was waste of time, and that there was no "other way with the arch-traitor than the plain way of perdition".

CHAPTER XVIII

Tyrone Submits: Death of Elizabeth

"Famine, Fire, and Slaughter" in Ulster—Tyrone approaches Mountjoy—He is repelled—Docwra and Chichester combine against Tyrone—He retires to Glenconkein—A Force of 8000 men fail to "hunt the Arch-traitor into the Sea"—Tyrone communicates with King James VI of Scotland—James acts with Characteristic Diplomacy—Elizabeth appoints Commissioners to deal with Tyrone—Death of the Queen—Tyrone, ignorant of her death, submits.

The great Russian who wrote *War and Peace*, and he alone, could adequately describe the state to which Ireland was reduced by the struggle for supremacy between Elizabeth and Tyrone. Nauseating and gruesome in the extreme as are many of the details, they must be given, if only thereby to gain a truthful picture of the scene when "the war-cloud had lifted". Pitiful and full of anguish are the memorials of that terrible time, whether furnished by a Moryson or a Spenser; by a cool-blooded, indifferent looker-on, or by one who lost his all by incendiary fires, which swallowed up not alone his worldly goods, but with tongues of flame licked up the lives of his children.

Famine followed the footsteps of Mountjoy, who devastated the country through which he passed, destroying the crops as he went, and leaving in his wake nothing save desolation and death. "Mountjoy", says Mr. Bagwell, "had clearly foreseen a famine, had done his best to bring it about, and had completely succeeded." The victims of his merciless methods were reduced to "unspeakable extremities". Fynes Moryson relates how Sir Arthur Chichester, Sir Richard

Moryson, and other English commanders in Ulster witnessed "a most horrible spectacle of three children (whereof the eldest was not above ten years old) all eating and knawing with their teeth the entrals of their dead mother, upon whose flesh they had fed twenty days past". Captain Trevor tells us that certain old women lit fires in the woods to attract young children, and that when the children approached, hoping to find food and warmth, they were seized, killed, and eaten by the beldames. Horses were killed for food, and not only horses but dogs, cats, hawks, kites, and other birds of prey. Moryson says: "No spectacle was more frequent, in the ditches of townes, and especiallie in wasted countries, than to see multitudes of these poore people dead, with their mouthes all coloured greene, by eating nettles, docks, and all things they could rend up above ground". The very wolves were driven by starvation from the woods, and killed the enfeebled people. The dead lay unburied, or half-buried, for the survivors had not strength to dig a proper grave, and the human remains, being left thus exposed, were devoured by famishing dogs or ravenous wolves.

Reduced by such a spectacle, Tyrone wrote to Mountjoy in most humble terms, saying: "I know the Queen's merciful nature, though I am not worthy to crave for mercy. . . . Without standing on any terms or conditions, I do hereby both simply and absolutely, submit myself to her Majesty's mercy." Mountjoy, however, remained implacable, and, pluming himself on his success, talked of hunting the arch-traitor into the sea. The war was now confined to a corner of Ulster, and Tyrone, being hard pressed by Docwra and Chichester, was driven into his last fastnesses, with a few followers and but fifty fighting-men, and stood simply on the defensive. The portion of country he could still call his own was merely about 200 square miles in extent, situate in the south-eastern part of Derry, Glenconkein, and the most eastern portion of Tyrone, on the shores of Lough Neagh.

Sir Henry Docwra, governor of Derry, had been busy for months planting garrisons at all suitable spots, and Mountjoy himself had, during the summer, traversed Ulster with the object of erecting forts; for starvation by means of garrisons was his object. About the 10th of August the Queen's forces, augmented by those of Docwra from Derry, which comprised some 450 English foot and 50 horse, with 200 O'Cahan and 100 O'Dogherty kerne, supplemented by forces which accompanied Chichester from Carrickfergus and Danvers from Armagh, and by troops drawn from the Mountnorris, Blackwater, Mountjoy, and Charlemont forts, made a formidable array, being a total strength of at least 8000 men, wherewith to "hunt the arch-traitor" and his fifty men-at-arms "into the sea".

This mighty host was gathered together at Toom, the most northerly point of Lough Neagh, with the result that the inhabitants of the district were eaten out of house and home, and the surrounding country cropped as bare as an English common. How the rebels subsisted we are told by Moryson, who says: "the wild Irish willingly eat the herb shamrock, being of a sharp taste, which, as they run and are chased to and fro, they snatch like beasts out of the ditches".

Docwra and Chichester found it by no means easy to converge upon Tyrone. To penetrate shaggy woods in order to discover the whereabouts of your enemy before you proceed to dispatch him is not by any means an agreeable undertaking, especially when, in endeavouring to find the way "through verdurous glooms", impedimenta in the shape of fallen tree-trunks block the way, and a chance encounter with a pack of fierce and starving wolves may possibly relieve you of the necessity of ever encountering another foe! No sooner had the woods been entered than the O'Cahans decamped and the O'Dogherties declined to proceed farther. The usual fortunes of war followed; guides either misled or deserted, soldiers sickened and died, and a wily foe cut off unwary

stragglers. Chichester, full of enthusiasm, penetrated farther into the woods and had a brush with Tyrone's men, but did little or no damage, and in but a short time the borders of the wood, like that enchanted one of which George Meredith sang, were marked by "hasty *outward-tripping* toes, heels to terror, on the mould". Docwra returned to Derry, and Chichester abandoned the enterprise.

Tyrone's thoughts now naturally turned towards Scotland. Five years earlier he had offered his services to James, but that sagacious and sanctimonious monarch, "willing to wound and yet afraid to strike" Elizabeth, replied with characteristic pomposity: "When it shall please God to call our sister, the Queen of England, by death, we will see no less than your promptitude and readiness upon our advertisement to do us service". Tyrone, accepting this assurance as genuine, kept James informed of events in Ireland that might interest the King. But the goodwill of James towards useless friends was a somewhat negative quantity, and, true to his instinct to "make friends of the mammon of unrighteousness", if such friendliness led to material results, he offered the Queen, in 1601, a body of troops wherewith to exterminate Tyrone and all his breed. Elizabeth, accepting James's professions of friendship at what they were worth, remarked, while she thanked him for his kind offer, that the rebels had done their worst already, and added significantly: "Remember that who seeketh two strings to one bow, may shoot strong but never straight; if you suppose that princes' causes be vailed so covertly that no intelligence may bewray them, deceive not yourself; we old foxes can find shifts to save ourselves by others' malice, and come by knowledge of greatest secret, specially if it touch our freehold".

Tyrone had now retired to a formidable fastness near the extremity of Lough Erne, accompanied by his brother Cormac, Art O'Neill of Clanaboy, and MacMahon, with a muster of some 600 foot and 60 horse. To this secure stronghold

Mountjoy, in September, followed him with his huge army, but was unable to get within less than twelve miles of his quarry. Henry and Con, the sons of Shane O'Neill, who were in the English service and were followed by some of the men of Tyrone, were permitted by the Lord Deputy to remain with the herdsmen in the neighbourhood, which otherwise was wholly depopulated.

On the 11th of September Mountjoy returned to Newry, stating, in his letters to Cecil and the Privy Council, that "we found everywhere men dead of famine, insomuch that O'Hagan protested to us, that between Tullaghoge and Toom there lay unburied 1000 dead, and that since our first drawing this year to Blackwater there were about 3000 starved in Tyrone".

Early in March, 1603, three letters were received by the Lord Deputy, two bearing dates 6th and 17th February, from Elizabeth, the third dated the 18th February, signed by Cecil. In her dispatches the Queen desired Mountjoy to invite Tyrone to Dublin, and to assure him at the same time that his life would be preserved. Tyrone, once in the Lord Deputy's hands, was to be detained. Eleven days later the maiden Queen, as women are wont to do, changed her mind, and added that not alone was Tyrone's life to be spared, but he was also to be granted a full pardon and be set at liberty. In the letter signed by Cecil, the Queen, two days later, suggested, among other things, that the title of Tyrone should be altered, and granted him greater latitude on condition that he kept the approaches to Ulster in a clear and satisfactory condition. To these dispatches Mountjoy replied by pointing out that Tyrone was to the Irish a more innocent and less suggestive title than The O'Neill, which he considered highly inflammatory, and he added many sage suggestions, which, alas! Elizabeth never lived to read; but it is deeply interesting to know that on the very day of her death, 24th March, commission was given to Sir William

Godolphin and Sir Garret Moore to treat with Tyrone, he and his adherents being granted the Royal Protection for a period of three weeks.

Elizabeth was no more, and Tyrone was unaware of the fact. Great care, indeed, was taken to keep the news from becoming public property. The intelligence reached Mountjoy three days after the event, and was at once suppressed, chiefly through the diplomacy of Fynes Moryson. Under the circumstances it was deemed expedient to hasten the negotiations with Tyrone, and accordingly instructions were issued to the Commissioners to expedite matters. Mountjoy was at Sir Garret Moore's castle at Mellifont when the news of Elizabeth's death arrived, and, without revealing his secret, he urged upon Godolphin the advisability of immediate action. Godolphin, in blissful ignorance of the fact that "England wept upon Elizabeth", set out at once to parley with Tyrone, and even rode several miles beyond Dungannon to meet him, returning with the "great O'Neill" that evening to Charlemont fort. Early next day the little party of horsemen set out for Mellifont, where the ceremony of submission took place. Fynes Moryson, who was present, tells us: "Tyrone being admitted to the Lord Deputy's chamber, kneeled at the door humbly on his knees for a long space, making his penitent submission to Her Majesty, and after being required to come nearer to the Lord Deputy, performed the same ceremony in all humbleness, the space of one hour or thereabouts".

The terms of the submission were equally complete: "I, Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, do absolutely submit myself to the Queen's mercy, imploring her gracious commiseration, imploring Her Majesty to mitigate her just indignation against me. I do avow that the first motives of my rebellion were neither malice nor ambition, but that I was induced, by fear of my life, to stand upon my guard. I do, therefore, most humbly sue Her Majesty that she will vouchsafe to

restore to me my former dignity and living. In which state of a subject I vow to continue for ever hereafter loyal, in all true obedience to her Royal person, crown, and prerogatives, and to be in all things as dutifully conformable thereunto as I or any other nobleman of this realm is bound by the duty of a subject to a sovereign, utterly renouncing the name and title of O'Neill, or any other claim which hath not been granted to me by Her Majesty.

"I abjure all foreign power, and all dependence upon any other potentate but Her Majesty. I renounce all manner of dependency upon the King of Spain, or treaty with him, or any of his confederates, and shall be ready to serve Her Majesty against him or any of his forces or confederates. I do renounce all challenge or intermeddling with the urriaghs, or fostering with them, or other neighbour lords and gentlemen outside my country, or exacting black rents of any urriaghs, or bordering lords. I resign all claim and title to any lands, but such as shall now be granted to me by Her Majesty's letters patent.

"Lastly, I will be content to be advised by Her Majesty's magistrates here, and will assist them in anything that may tend to the advancement of her service, and the peaceable government of this kingdom, the abolishing of barbarous customs, the clearing of difficult passes, wherein I will employ the labours of the people of my country, in such places, as shall be directed by Her Majesty, or the Lord Deputy in her name; and I will endeavour for myself, and the people of my country, to erect civil habitations, and such as shall be of greater effect, to preserve us against thieves and any force but the power of the State."

In return for this abject submission Tyrone was promised a full pardon, and a patent for nearly all the lands which he held before his rebellion. Thus, after six years of war or negotiations, the Earl retained Tyrone on almost the same terms as those which he had himself proposed in 1587. He

had, however, to face the significant fact that 300 acres were reserved for the fort of Mountjoy and 300 for Charlemont, and Ulster was to submit to a composition, as Connaught had done. Still, with characteristic common sense, he made the best terms for himself, and resumed his position as the first subject in the realm, nor is there any reason to doubt that he was perfectly loyal and sincere in so doing.

On the afternoon of the next day, 4th April, he rode into Dublin with the viceregal party, and on the 5th Sir Henry Danvers arrived from England with official tidings of the death of the Queen. King James was at once proclaimed, the announcement of his accession to the throne of England being received with plaudits by the populace, but Tyrone, who naturally was the cynosure of all eyes, burst into tears on hearing of the death of Elizabeth. "There needed", says the alert Moryson, "no Œdipus to find out the true cause of his tears; for, no doubt the most humble submission he made to the Queen he had so highly and proudly offended, much eclipsed the vain glory his actions might have carried if he had held out till her death; besides that by his coming in, as it were, between two reigns, he lost a fair advantage, for (by England's estate for the present unsettled) to have subsisted longer in rebellion (if he had any such end) or at least an ample occasion of fastening great merit on the new King, if at first and of free will he had submitted to his mercy."

The last year of O'Neill's war cost the English treasury £290,733, besides "contingencies", which, according to Cox, amounted to at least £50,000 more, making the last year's expenditure for this Irish war at least £340,733, while the revenue of England at this period was not more than £450,000 per annum. During the last four and a half years of Elizabeth's reign it has been computed that the Irish war cost her about £1,200,000—an enormous demand upon the slender revenue of those days. The drain upon the life-blood of England was also great, her soldiers perishing by thousands

like rotten sheep in the bogs and dank woods of Ireland; and not recruits or rankers only, but distinguished officers like the Norrises, Clifford, Bagenal, and Bingham. As we have seen, on the very day of her death the great Queen's thoughts were fixed on Ulster. She had firmly resolved, with all her imperious will, that she would subdue Ireland, and it is not by any means improbable that, as she lay fully dressed, propped up by cushions on the floor of her palace, dying, her last fierce flickering thought dwelt on Tyrone.

CHAPTER XIX

King James and his Irish Subjects

Accession of James—Religious Fervour revived—High Hopes entertained by the Catholics—The Pawky Policy of James with regard to the Church—Mountjoy leaves Ireland with Tyrone and Roderick O'Donnell—Rural Population of Wales insult and assault Tyrone—The Ulster Chieftains received by the King—O'Donnell created Earl of Tirconnell—Sir George Carey appointed Lord Deputy—Trouble caused by Debased Coinage.

The accession of James I gave peculiar pleasure to his subjects in Ireland, for the vast majority of the people were under the impression that the son of Mary Stuart was secretly in sympathy with the Catholic faith, an erroneous idea which the pawky monarch did nothing to dispel. When the official messenger arrived to convey the news of Elizabeth's death, Tyrone, who had only entered Dublin with the viceregal party the day before, was, by the irony of fate, the only Irish peer on the spot, and thus it came about that the rebel, whose submission to Elizabeth had been so recently accepted, signed the proclamation which spread the tidings of her death far and near. Having submitted to the dead Queen, "that hath been feared for love and honoured for virtue, beloved of her subjects and feared of her enemies, magnified among princes and famozed through the world for justice and equity", he now, in equally humble fashion, made submission on his knees to "the most high and mighty prince James", "solemnly swearing upon a book to perform every part thereof, as much as lay in his power; and if he could not perform any

part thereof he vowed to put his body into the King's hands, to be disposed at his pleasure".

Religious fervour usually runs high in Ireland, and a very large section of a highly emotional and imaginative people at once jumped to the conclusion that with the accession of James a new and happier era had commenced, not alone for their country, but for their creed. As was natural, the southern portion of the country was more jubilant than the north, where Protestantism was slowly being accepted; but even Drogheda, "which since the conquest was never spotted with the least jot of disloyalty", joined in the general rejoicings. Had they but known it, there was little over which to rejoice. James had, with the shrewdness which was one of his most marked characteristics, for years made it his policy to secure the friendship of the Catholic potentates, his sole object in doing so being to "waste the vigour of the state of England". As Robertson points out: "Lord Home—who was himself a Roman Catholic—was entrusted with a secret commission to the Pope. The Archbishop of Glasgow, another Roman Catholic, was very active with those of his own religion", and he added, "Sir James Lindsay made great progress in gaining the English papists". It has even been asserted that, during the reign of Elizabeth, James "assisted the Irish privately more than Spain did publicly". In addition to the popular idea that the King "would embrace the Catholic religion", an important factor in securing the loyalty of his Irish subjects lay in the fact that the King was held to have "Irish royal blood" in his veins, being a direct descendant of "ancient Milesian Kings", and thus James came to rule over a more contented country than Elizabeth had ever known.

In May, 1603, Mountjoy, on whom the King had conferred the dignity of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland with the privilege of residing in England, left Ireland accompanied by Tyrone, Roderick O'Donnell (whose brother's death had

made him head of the clan), and a party of gentlemen which included the Lord-Lieutenant's secretary, Fynes Moryson, the historian. Tyrone, who was recognized, met with a hostile demonstration at one or two points on the journey, the high social position of the travellers not serving to defend them from the indignity of one of their party being greeted with a shower of sticks, stones, and mud. These attentions on the part of villagers were no doubt forgotten in the splendour of the reception given by Mountjoy to the two Ulster chieftains at Wantage, where they were presented to the King.

James received Tyrone and O'Donnell very graciously, and confirmed O'Neill in his restored title of Earl of Tyrone, while he granted to O'Donnell that of Earl of Tirconnell. His Majesty, it must be admitted, had done everything in his power to secure their safety and goodwill, for he had declared by proclamation that they were to be honourably received, and when on 21st July, at Hampton Court, he created Mountjoy Earl of Devonshire, Tyrone and Tirconnell were both present at the ceremony.

These proceedings roused the choler of Sir John Harrington, who, forgetful of the friendly manner in which Tyrone had treated him when, with Sir William Warren, he had visited the Ulster chieftain in his mountain home, complained of the reception now given to him. "I have lived", he declared with resentment, "to see that damnable rebel, Tyrone, brought to England, honoured, and well liked. O what is there that does not prove the inconstancy of worldly matters? How I did labour for all that knave's destruction! I adventured perils by sea and land, was near starving, eat horse flesh in Munster, and all to quell that man, who now smileth in peace at those who did hazard their lives to destroy him; and now doth Tyrone dare us, old commanders, with his presence and protection."

Harrington's attitude towards Tyrone is indicative of the general feeling towards the Ulster chieftain; as Professor

Richey wrote: "If he had fallen sword in hand, the English might have felt the sympathy due to a gallant foe; but that six years of warfare, costly and bloody, should have left Hugh O'Neill the Earl of Tyrone, was a very unsatisfactory result. English officers and soldiers, who had toiled through the Irish campaigns, ill paid, ill clothed, and neglected by the Government, and captains who had come back bankrupt from the Ulster wars, had to salute the Earl of Tyrone, when he swept past them into the Council Chamber." The officers and soldiers had, in addition, to bear, with as much equanimity as they could command, the knowledge that the Earl, on being appointed the King's Lieutenant in Tyrone, was given an order for £600 on the Irish treasury, by the issue of which the funds sorely needed for the reward of patriotic service were depleted to serve the requirements of a rebel.

When Mountjoy left Ireland in May, 1603, Sir George Carey, Vice-Treasurer, was appointed Lord Deputy, and a few months later Devonshire (to designate Mountjoy by his new title) succeeded in getting Sir John Davies, a clever young barrister, made Solicitor-General for Ireland. To this appointment we owe much interesting and instructive matter in connection with the history of the country under Elizabeth and James. English law was now for the first time introduced into the territories of Tyrone and Tirconnell. The first sheriffs were appointed for them by Carew, and Sir Edward Pelham and Sir John Davies were the first to administer justice there according to English forms.

Tyrone's position now became wellnigh intolerable. To the popular imagination he represented nothing save a defeated rebel. The highest hopes of his followers having been fixed upon him, their disappointment in his collapse led to their love and admiration of him being replaced by the bitterest hate. In England and Wales, on his return journey to Ireland, he had to be protected by troops of horse, lest the

mob, who had lost in his wars "some of their loveliest and their best", should tear him to pieces. Arrived in Ireland, the Pale cast him out, and he lived an uneventful life for some time at Drogheda, only giving, like an expiring volcano, occasional evidence that even in his ashes lived their wonted fires, by making objections to the appointments of sheriffs, and thereby raising in the mind of Sir John Davies the idea that he still wished to "hold his greatness in his old barbarous manner".

A serious dispute now arose between Tyrone and Donnell O'Cahan, chief of the district now represented by the County Londonderry, which district had been known as Iraght O'Cahan for centuries. The O'Cahans paid tribute to the O'Neills from time immemorial; in evidence of which fact the former had to perform certain hereditary duties on the death of a chieftain of the latter sept, and the installation of the Tanist. Under the new condition of things, Tyrone being in rebellion, O'Cahan, in July, 1602, submitted to Sir Henry Docwra, agreeing at the same time to surrender certain portions of his territory to the Queen. He also requested that the remainder of his district should be granted to him by letters patent. This was agreed to by Docwra and ratified by Mountjoy, who also agreed that under no conditions was Tyrone to be again O'Cahan's overlord, and until matters should be finally adjusted O'Cahan was appointed custodian of his district under the Great Seal.

Tyrone, having submitted, proceeded to deal with O'Cahan on the terms existing previous to his being again received into favour. O'Cahan protested with vehemence, but all to no purpose. Mountjoy's pronouncement was that "My lord of Tyrone is taken in with promise to be restored, as well to all his lands, as his honour of dignity, and O'Cahan's country is his and must be obedient to his command". Docwra could not conceal his astonishment, but was of course powerless; and O'Cahan, in a rage, "bade the devil take all Englishmen

and as many as put their trust in them". Finally there was a violent rupture between Tyrone and O'Cahan, and the former, in October, 1606, seized some of the latter's cattle, being his first "notorious violent act" since his submission. Mountjoy had died in the previous April, and Tyrone was now practically without a friend. Finally O'Cahan petitioned, and it was decided that Tyrone was not entitled to the freehold, and the matter was left to be decided by the King.

This is only one instance of the eternal litigation in which Tyrone became involved. He was no longer an autocrat, but had to submit to the law of the land—the laws of England—under which he chaffed and fumed, getting himself entangled in endless complications and annoyances, and making life by his feuds a misery to himself and to others. He had lost "the name of O'Neill, and some part of the tyrannical jurisdiction over the subjects which his ancestors were wont to assume to themselves".

Roderick O'Donnell, who had been created Earl of Tirconnell, was made the King's Lieutenant in his own country, and was given a grant of the major portion of Donegal, which did not by any means realize his interpretation of the Earldom of Tirconnell, which, according to his far-reaching ideas, embraced "Tyrone, Fermanagh, yea and Connaught, wheresoever any of the O'Donnells had at any time extended their power, he made account all was his: he acknowledged no other kind of right or interest in any man else, yea the very persons of the people he challenged to be his, and said he had wrong if any foot of all that land, or any one of the persons of the people were exempted from him".

His pretensions were disputed by Sir Nial Garv O'Donnell, who, though he received a grant of 13,000 acres of land near Lifford, threw off all restraint and got himself proclaimed The O'Donnell. His revolt, however, was easily put down, and

he was content to receive pardon and his own patrimonial inheritance.

Much misery in Ireland was at this time caused by the King's reverting to a practice which, more than any other, had caused widespread penury, with all its attendant evils—the issue of a debased coinage. Elizabeth, as we have seen, driven to desperation by need of money wherewith to carry on her Irish war, had, two years before her death, issued money containing only 25 per cent of silver. This was a direct inducement to coiners to counterfeit the base coin with a baser, and, there being no sterling or standard coin in the realm, universal dissatisfaction prevailed at the lack of a proper medium of exchange. James now ordered the issue of coinage containing 75 per cent of silver, which was by royal command to be accepted as sterling, and at the same time he ordered the old baser coinage to be accepted, each shilling of the old to be received as worth fourpence of the new. A later proclamation cried down the new coinage from twelvepence to ninepence, and this, taken in conjunction with the fact that a much purer currency prevailed in England, made confusion worse confounded, with the consequent paralysing of trade and enterprise.

This state of affairs led to complications, and a notable instance of the trouble caused by having diverse coinage for England and Ireland was that wherein one Brett, a trader of Drogheda, tendered to an English merchant named Gilbert, of London, £100 in the coinage of Ireland, which Gilbert refused to accept, as the agreement between the parties was that the money should be paid in "sterling current and lawful money of England". Sir George Carey, being Vice-Treasurer as well as Lord Deputy, was naturally interested, and the case being stated for the judges, who were of the Privy Council, it was decided that Brett's payment was legal tender. This established a precedent in law with concomitant commitments for those who refused

to accept the pronouncement, and universal irritation at the intolerable situation created by the possibility of Ireland being legally enabled to repudiate her just debts; for a knowledge of this fact tended to make English merchants chary of having any dealings with the country, and led to consequent destruction of credit. Over two hundred years elapsed before the desired result was brought about of a unification of the coinage of England and Ireland.

CHAPTER XX

The Flight of the Earls

Sir George Carey resigns—Sir Arthur Chichester appointed Lord Deputy—James and the Oath of Allegiance—He enforces the Act of Uniformity—A Petition presented by the Catholics of the Pale—Sir Patrick Barnwell, Tyrone's brother-in-law, imprisoned—Proceedings against Sir Patrick stopped—He is liberated—Tyrone, Tirconnell, and others flee the Country.

Those who, being in supreme command, have also the untrammelled control of very large sums of money, occupy a position far from enviable. Such was the position of Sir George Carey, Viceroy and Vice-Treasurer; and there is no doubt that it was due to the fact that he endeavoured to fulfil the duties of this difficult dual rôle, involving, as it did, the holding of both sword and purse, that he was accused of corrupt methods of acquiring wealth. There is not the slightest evidence that there was any truth whatever in the allegations made, and Sir George himself, we know, wished to retire. As Lord Deputy he drew only one-third of the salary attached to the office, the balance being paid to Devonshire as Lord-Lieutenant, although he resided in England until his death. Carey suggested Sir Arthur Chichester, Governor of Carrickfergus, as his successor, but Chichester refused, saying that the salary was insufficient; whereupon an additional £1000 a year was granted, and Chichester accepted the position, and was sworn in on the 3rd of February, 1604.

One of the first questions with which Chichester had to deal was that of religious toleration, for the widespread

belief that the King favoured Catholicism led to a general movement throughout the country, and, to the great alarm of the authorities, priests and Jesuits swarmed everywhere. Tyrone posed, as did Shane O'Neill before him, as a Defender of the Faith, and there is no doubt that the war in Ulster was essentially a religious war. Chichester had taken part in the war against Tyrone, and had been more than once worsted by him; the Earl held his abilities in contempt; and Chichester, vested with authority, was now in a better position to deal with him. Jesuits, he held, came into the country "not only to plant their religion, but to withdraw the subject from his allegiance, and to serve the turn of Tyrone and the King of Spain".

But though James had been baptized a Catholic, he had, owing to his having been removed from the custody of his mother, been brought up as a Presbyterian, and was a Calvinist of a most pronounced type. He exhibited, however, no tendency to tolerate religious persecution until the ill-advised Gunpowder Plot made him anxious for the safety of his own sacred person, which he now deemed to be in jeopardy. It is generally recognized that James, either through heredity or some like cause, was of a very timorous disposition. The genius of Sir Walter Scott has depicted the King's aversion to gazing upon a drawn sword, even when the weapon was to be used merely for the innocent purpose of bestowing knighthood on the kneeling recipient of the honour.

Deeming, therefore, that his life was threatened by the Catholics, James determined to exterminate them, or banish them from the realm, and accordingly, on the 4th of July, 1605, he issued a proclamation formally promulgating the Act of Uniformity (II, Eliz.), and commanding the "Popish clergy" to leave the kingdom; and, in addition, an unwise commission was issued to certain respectable Catholics, requiring them, under the title of inquisitors, to watch and

inform against those of their own faith who did not frequent the Protestant churches on the appointed days.

The Act of Uniformity in itself could, when enforced, do little more than annoy, for the strongest of its provisions was that a fine of a shilling should be imposed on all who did not attend church on Sundays and holidays; but another Act of Elizabeth prescribed an oath acknowledging the Queen's supremacy, both civil and ecclesiastical, and denying that any "foreign prince, person, prelate, State, or Potentate hath or ought to have any jurisdiction", in the good realm of these countries England and Ireland. This oath, it was proposed, should be administered not alone to those holding office under the Crown, but also to ecclesiastics, justices, mayors, and aldermen. It was resolved to put these Acts in force.

In the famous proclamation above referred to, the King denied that he ever intended "to give liberty of conscience or toleration of religion to his subjects in the Kingdom of Ireland, contrary to the express laws and statutes therein enacted", and proceeded to declare that he would never do any act to "confirm the hopes of any creature that they should ever have from him any toleration to exercise any other religion than that which is agreeable to God's Word and is established by the laws of the realm". Against Jesuits stern measures were to be taken, not so much because of their religious tendencies as on account of their meddling with affairs of State, "taking upon themselves the ordering and deciding of causes, both before and after they have received judgments in the King's courts of record . . . all priests whatsoever made and ordained by any authority derived or pretended to be derived from the See of Rome shall before the 10th day of December, depart out of the Kingdom of Ireland".

James doubtless was perturbed by such reports as those to the effect that the country swarmed with "priests, Jesuits,

seminaries, friars, and Romish bishops"; for it had been pointed out to His Majesty by Cecil and others that to be a Catholic was to be a rebel, anxious for the dethronement of the King, and therefore James gave more attention than he might otherwise have done to such admonitions as that contained in the following: "If there be not speedy means to free this kingdom of this wicked rabble, much mischief will burst forth in a very short time. There are here so many of this wicked crew, as are able to disquiet four of the greatest kingdoms in Christendom. It is high time they were banished, and none to receive or aid them. Let the judges and officers be sworn to the supremacy; let the lawyers go to the church and show conformity, or not plead at the bar, and then the rest by degrees will shortly follow."

The great Anglo-Irish families of the Pale naturally remonstrated against this severity, and presented a petition for freedom of religious worship; but the leading petitioners, of whom five were peers, were confined in Dublin Castle, while their principal agent, Sir Patrick Barnwell, Tyrone's brother-in-law, was sent to England and committed to the Tower. When, as a preliminary, he was imprisoned in Dublin Castle, on 2nd December, 1605, he remarked, with fortitude: "We must endure as we have endured many other things, and especially the miseries of the late war". To this Chichester responded: "No, sir, we have endured the misery of the war, we have lost our blood and our friends, and have indeed endured extreme miseries to suppress the late rebellion, whereof your priests, for whom you make petition, and your wicked religion, was the principal cause". Sir Patrick Barnwell, after detention in London for many months, was allowed to return to Ireland, and further proceedings against him were dropped.

Of course we must not judge the religious emotions of the early seventeenth century from the semi-scientific attitude

adopted towards matters spiritual in our own day. Even "Broad-browed Verulam, the first of those who know", could not, at a time so early in the history of social progress that the burning of a witch received the grave consideration of a king, and when "thou shalt not suffer a witch to live" was accepted as a mandate from on high, be much in advance of his fellows on questions of the soul. That he gave the matter some thought is proved by his advising Cecil that "a toleration of religion (for a time not definite), except it be in some principal towns and precincts, after the manner of some French edicts, seemeth to me to be a matter warrantable by religion, and in policy of absolute necessity. And the hesitation in this point, I think, hath been a great casting back of the affairs there. Neither if any English Papist or recusant shall for liberty of his conscience transfer his person, family, and fortunes thither do I hold it a matter of danger, but expedient to draw on undertaking and to further population. Neither if Rome will cozen itself, by conceiving it may be some degree to the like toleration in England, do I hold it a matter of any moment, but rather a good mean to take off the fierceness and eagerness of the humour of Rome, and to stay further excommunications or inter-dictions for Ireland."

Such was the state of affairs in Ireland in the opening years of the "high and mighty Prince James", and what is true of Ireland of necessity includes Ulster, for the province suffered to much the same extent as did her sister provinces.

Tyrone continued to complain that he was so watched by the spies of the Government that the slightest of his actions could not escape their notice. It is said that even his secretary or clerk had a pension for bringing letters to the authorities. The Earl had, in addition to his many worries and anxieties, the sorrow of having a wife with whom he could not agree. Lady Tyrone, formerly Catherine

Magennis, was the fourth who bore the title. No doubt, as in most domestic squabbles, for they can rarely be designated by any other name, there were faults on both sides, and it is unpleasant to learn that when examined secretly on oath by Sir Toby Caulfeild, she "recounted many violences which he had used and done to her in his drunkenness". It is, however, gratifying to be assured that Lady Tyrone, notwithstanding this treatment, denied that her husband, though discontented, was in any way disloyal.

It will be remembered that Spanish ships frequently brought wine to the coast of Donegal. The knowledge of this fact served Perrot in good stead when he rigged out a pseudo-Spanish vessel in which he succeeded in kidnapping young Hugh Roe O'Donnell. Spanish ships continued to call at ports in Donegal. Tyrone had a son named Henry in Spain. As a boy, Henry O'Neill became page to the Archduke Albert in Brussels, where later he commanded an Irish regiment 1400 strong. After his submission, Tyrone wrote to the King of Spain, requesting him to send Henry home; but he never returned, and his father, growing accustomed to his prolonged absence, sometimes boasted of the young man's influence at the Spanish Court, and of his authority over the Irish abroad.

Hugh Maguire, who died in 1600, was succeeded by his brother, that "desperate and dangerous young fellow", as Chichester described him, who bore the not very euphonious name Cuconnaught. The Government, deeming, no doubt, that it was politic, decided to divide Hugh Maguire's district between Cuconnaught and one of his kinsmen, Connor Roe. This division of his property greatly incensed the desperate and dangerous young fellow, who, however, was wise enough to dissemble his hate of the authorities and his resentment at such treatment. Maguire, as we shall now call him, communicated with the Archduke, who sent him a large sum of money, with which he went to Rouen, succeeded in getting

a ship commanded by John Bath, of Drogheda, and, by the end of August, 1606, was able to put into Lough Swilly. This vessel was partly laden with salt, but also carried fishing-nets.

On Thursday, the 28th of August, the Viceroy, at Slane, was entertaining Tyrone, who was conferring with him about a visit he proposed paying to England. Here the Earl received news from John Bath informing him that Maguire had arrived in a French ship in Lough Swilly. On Saturday, the 30th, he visited Mellifont, the scene of his submission to Mountjoy. No doubt recollections came crowding fast, and the old man saw again that "red star of boyhood's fiery thought", the liberation of Ireland, on which all his heart had been set; and it is not therefore surprising to learn that in taking leave next day of his friend, Sir Garrett Moore, he "wept abundantly, giving a solemn farewell to every child and every servant in the house, which made them all marvel, because in general it was not his manner to use such compliments".

On his way northwards Tyrone remained two days at his own residence in Dungannon, and proceeded thence hastily to Rathmullen. On Wednesday he crossed the mountains of Strabane, in crossing which "it is reported that the Countess his wife, being exceedingly weary, slipped down from her horse, and weeping, said she could go no further; whereupon the Earl drew his sword, and swore a great oath that he would kill her on the place if she would not pass on with him, and put on a more cheerful countenance withal". On Thursday they reached Rathmullen, on the shores of Lough Swilly, where Tyrone found Tirconnell and several of his friends waiting and laying up stores in the French ship. They appear to have sailed the next morning.

The Four Masters, in referring to this flight, pathetically exclaim: "Woe to the heart that meditated, woe to the mind that conceived, woe to the council that decided on the project

of their setting out of this voyage without knowing whether they should ever return to their native principalities or patrimonies to the end of the world". From this it has been surmised that the flight of the Earls was, in the opinion of their contemporaries, a rash proceeding, or that it was artfully prompted by their enemies.

PLANTATION OF ULSTER, 1622

From the facsimile of a contemporary map of the lands granted by James I to the City of London

CHAPTER XXI

Some Results of the Flight

The Exiles' Adventures—They land in Normandy—The Earls well received —Spinola, the Captor of Ostend, entertains them—Tyrone meets his son, Henry O'Neill—So-called Conspiracy to take Dublin Castle and murder the Deputy and Council—Efforts made to implicate Tyrone—The Earls attainted and their Estates confiscated—King James's "Counter-Blast" to the Earls.

It is but right and natural in a history of Ulster to follow in their flight the Earls of Tyrone, Tirconnell, and their companions, these most illustrious of Ulster's sons.

The Irish Annalists enumerate the principal persons who sailed on that eventful trip. The passengers consisted chiefly of O'Neills and O'Donnells. Of the former there were the Earl and Lady Tyrone, her daughter Catherine, his three sons, Hugh, Baron of Dungannon, John, and Brian; Art Oge, the son of Tyrone's brother Cormac, and others of his relatives. The O'Donnells included the Earl of Tirconnell, his brother, Caffar, and his sister, Nuala, who was married to Nial Garv, but forsook her husband when he became a traitor to his country. Hugh O'Donnell, the Earl's son, was also on board, and other members of his family, with Cuconnaught Maguire and Owen Roe MacWard, chief bard of Tirconnell. In all there were ninety-nine persons, making "a distinguished gathering for one ship, and it is certain that the sea had not supported nor the winds wafted from Ireland in modern times a party of one ship more illustrious or noble".

Sir Cormac MacBaron, Tyrone's brother, when the vessel had sailed, repaired to Slane to inform Chichester, no doubt at Tyrone's request, of the departure. Sir John Davies sar-

castically remarks: "Withal he was an earnest suitor to have the *custodiam* of his brother's country, which perhaps might be to his brother's use by agreement betwixt them; and therefore, for this and other causes of suspicion, the constable of the Castle of Dublin has the *custodiam* of him". The Lord Deputy forthwith repaired to Dublin to intercept the fugitives, and elaborate arrangements were made with that view; but John Bath, of Drogheda, kept clear of the coast, and having sighted the mountain of Croagh Patrick, at which, no doubt, the fugitives gazed with fond regret, he endeavoured to run for Corunna.

For thirteen days the little vessel tossed about, making no progress, and the captain at length determined to make for Croisic in Brittany, a little port destined centuries later to be the scene of one of Robert Browning's narrative poems. But Croisic was never reached; instead the vessel drove up channel almost to the Straits of Dover, narrowly escaping English cruisers instructed to be on the look-out for her, and a little later she landed her passengers at Quillebœuf, in Normandy, after their twenty-one days at sea. Here boats conveyed the women and children to Rouen, while Tyrone and his companions proceeded on horseback to Lisieux to meet the Governor of Normandy. The country people welcomed the exiles, who, having taken the precaution to be well supplied with money by having collected their rents in advance and by having realized convertible assets, were able to purchase provisions and wine, and secure lodgings for the night.

But though their welcome was cordial, and an application for their extradition was refused, the travellers were not allowed to remain in France, and accordingly they set out for Douai, where, says Mr. Bagwell, in his admirable précis from O'Keenary and other authorities, "the Earls were met by Tyrone's son Henry, who commanded the Irish regiment, and by all the captains serving under him. Among those captains was Tyrone's nephew, Owen MacArt O'Neill, after so famous

as Owen Roe, and Thomas Preston, scarcely less famous as his colleague, rival, and at last enemy. The Irish students in the seminary feasted them and greeted them in Latin and Greek odes and orations. Florence Conry and Eugene Mac Mahon, titular archbishops of Tuam and Dublin, met them also.

"At Tournai the whole population with the archbishop at their head came out to meet them. They then went on to Hal, where they were invited by Spinola and many of his officers. The captor of Ostend lent his carriage to take them to the Archduke at Binche, where they were received with much honour, and he afterwards entertained them at dinner in Brussels. Tyrone occupied Spinola's own chair, with the nuncio and Tirconnell on his right hand, the Duke of Aumale, the Duke of Ossuna, and the Marquis himself being on his left. The Earls left the city immediately afterwards and withdrew to Louvain, where they remained until the month of February. Edmondes remonstrated with the President Richardot about the favour shown to rebels against his sovereign, but that wily diplomatist gave him very little satisfaction.

"The greater part of the Irish who went over with Tyrone or who had since repaired to him were provided for by the creation of two new companies in Henry O'Neill's regiment, but the Earls were not allowed to go to Spain, and when they left Louvain in February, 1608, they passed through Lorraine to avoid French territory, and so by Switzerland into Italy. According to information received by the English Privy Council, the Netherlanders were glad to be rid of them, they having 'left so good a memory of their barbarous life and drunkenness where they were'."

But though this precious piece of information may have come from a tainted source, there is, alas! little doubt that Tyrone's habits did not improve with age. Six years later it was reported to the King, by one whose veracity is undoubted, and whose mode of life was more austere than was that of

Tyrone, that the Earl "while he is his own man is always much reserved, pretending ever his desire of your Majesty's grace, and by that means only to adoperate his return into his country; but when he is *vino plenus et irâ* (as he is commonly once a night, and therein is *veritas*) he doth then declare his resolute purpose to die in Ireland; and both he and his company do usually in that mood dispose of governments and provinces, and make new commonwealths".

Strange rumours had been set on foot before the Earls fled the country. One of these was an alleged plot to seize Dublin Castle with the Lord Deputy and Council in it. "Out of them", Tirconnell is reported to have said, "I shall have my lands and countries as I desire it." The account of this so-called conspiracy is briefly referred to by Dr. Anderson, an English Protestant divine, in his *Royal Genealogies*, printed in London in 1736, and dedicated to the Prince of Wales. "Artful Cecil", he says, "employed one St. Laurence to entrap the Earls of Tyrone and Tirconnell, the Lord of Delvin, and other Irish chiefs into a sham plot which had no evidence but his. But these chiefs being basely informed that witnesses were to be hired against them, foolishly fled from Dublin, and so taking guilt upon them, they were declared rebels, and six entire counties in Ulster were at once forfeited to the Crown, which was what their enemies wanted."

Briefly the story of this alleged plot is as follows: On the 18th of May, 1607, an anonymous letter, addressed to Sir William Ussher, Clerk to the Privy Council, was dropped at the door of the council chamber. The contents mentioned a design, then in contemplation, for seizing the Castle of Dublin, murdering the Lord Deputy, and raising a general revolt, to be aided by Spanish forces. This letter came from George St. Laurence, Baron of Howth; and, although in it no names were mentioned, the writer assumed that the Government were already in possession of information that fixed the guilt of the conspiracy on the Earl of Tyrone.

When this letter was discovered Lord Howth was not in Ireland, but he arrived a month later, and Chichester, having noticed that the anonymous paper resembled letters addressed by Howth to Salisbury, examined him more than once with regard to the communication, and was somewhat incredulous as to the contents; but the flight of the Earls convinced him that there was an element of truth in the affair.

"The Earl of Tyrone", said the Lord Deputy when referring to the flight, "came to me oftentimes upon sundry artificial occasions, as now it appears, and, by all his discourses, seemed to intend nothing more than the preparation for his journey into England against the time appointed, only he showed a discontent, and professed to be much displeased with his fortune, in two respects: the one, for that he conceived he had dealt, in some sort, unworthily with me, as he said, to appeal from thence to His Majesty and your lordships in the cause between Sir Donald O'Cahan and him; the other because that notwithstanding he held himself much bound unto His Majesty, that so graciously would vouchsafe to hear, and finally to determine the same, yet that it much grieved him to be called upon so suddenly, when, as what with the strictness of time and his present poverty, he was not able to furnish himself as became him for such a journey and for such a presence.

"In all things else he seemed very moderate and reasonable, albeit he never gave over to be a general solicitor in all causes concerning his country and people, how criminal soever. But now I find that he has been much abused by some that have cunningly terrified and diverted him from coming to His Majesty, which, considering his nature, I hardly believe, or else he had within him a thousand witnesses testifying that he was as deeply engaged in those secret treasons as any of the rest whom we knew or suspected."

By their flight, as a matter of course, Tyrone and Tirconnell were attainted and their estates confiscated. The

extent of the property confiscated was remarkable. It is to be recollected that there had not been any rising whatsoever, nor even an overt act of treason, nor any evidence to connect either of the Earls with an existing conspiracy. The only evidence against them was the fact of their flight and their subsequent conduct. Their voluntary exile and residence abroad, among either the suspected or avowed enemies of England, was a sufficient ground for a conviction of treason as against themselves, for their departure was a renouncing of their allegiance and an abandonment of the terms upon which their submission had been accepted.

The Earls might have been forced into this course by harsh and unjust treatment; but from whatsoever cause they had done so, the step they had taken was decisive and irrevocable. But every principle of law required that the forfeiture, which was inevitable, should not extend beyond the beneficial interest of the two Earls themselves. Their property should have vested in the Crown; but every estate, right, or claim of innocent third parties should have been secured. This had been carefully considered in the Acts of Attainder in the reign of Henry VIII. But by this equity to third parties, this careful providing for the interests of the poor and unprotected, the plans of the Government and the hopes of expectant grantees would have been frustrated. What, even according to English law, should have been confiscated were the lands of the exiles, their personal property in their actual possession, and merely the rights of the chief over the residue of the tribe lands.

The Government, however, had determined to stretch the confiscation so as to enable the King to deal as absolute owner in fee of Tyrone and Tirconnell, discharged of every estate and interest whatsoever. For this purpose a theory was invented that the fee of the tribe lands was vested in the chief, and that the members of the tribe held merely as tenants at will. Than this, nothing could have been more false; they

did not, indeed, hold by feudal tenure, nor in most instances possess what the English law described as the freehold; their titles were not entered upon the roll of a manor, nor could they produce parchment grants or muniments of title; yet the rights they possessed in the land were, according to their native laws, as clear and definite as any feudal grant could make them; and their properties, whatever they might be, had been possessed by their ancestors before English law had reached the country.

But, in spite of all this, the King declared that, because their interests could not square with the logical distinctions of the feudal code, but were defined by Brehon law—which in the eyes of English lawyers was not law at all, but a damnable custom—the population had no more interest in or title to the lands, which their ancestors had possessed time out of mind, than wild beasts or cattle could claim.

The King added insult to injury, for he published a declaration as to the true reason of the flight of the Earls, in which he said their object was to oppress his subjects, and the less said about their religion the better, "such being their condition and profession to think murder no fault, marriage of no use, nor any man to be esteemed valiant that did not glory in rapine and oppression". His Majesty added that he desired that his declaration would "disperse and discredit all such untruths as these contemptible creatures, so full of infidelity and ingratitude, shall disgorge against us and our just and moderate proceedings, and shall procure unto them no better usage than they would should be offered to any such pack of rebels born their subjects and bound unto them in so many and such great obligations".

In the language of the Royal Author, this fulmination was *A Counter-Blast* indeed!

CHAPTER XXII

The O'Dogherty Insurrection

The O'Doghertys of Innishowen—Death of Sir John O'Dogherty—Hugh Roe O'Donnell supports Phelim—The MacDevitts support Cahir—Docwra intervenes in Cahir's Favour—Cahir is adopted by the English and knighted—Docwra leaves Derry—Sir George Paulet appointed—An Unpopular Representative of the Crown—Paulet's "Friendly" Visit to O'Dogherty—Appreciated at its true worth by Sir Cahir—Officialdom's Delays—The Result—Rebellion!

To the extreme north of Ireland, and midway between the north-eastern and north-western coasts, lies the mountainous district of Innishowen, ruled from time immemorial by the Clan O'Dogherty. On its western side the waters of Lough Swilly give it a coast-line of some twenty English miles, and on its eastern the huge basin of Lough Foyle forms a natural harbour to the very walls of Derry.

At the time of FitzWilliam's administration this wild and woeful land was held by patent by Sir John O'Dogherty, known as one "of the most loyal subjects in Ulster". His loyalty, however, did not prevent FitzWilliam, who, in 1588, had gone north to search in vain for Spanish gold, "in hopes to finger some of it", from seizing him and Sir John O'Gallagher, another loyal subject, and flinging them, in a fit of petulant disappointment, into the stronghold of Dublin Castle. Sir John O'Gallagher died in prison, but Sir John O'Dogherty, after two years' experience of rigorous testing of his loyalty in the Bermingham Tower, bethought him of some "beeves" wherewith to appease the wrath of the Viceroy, and in exchange for the cows obtained his liberty.

Sir John O'Dogherty died in December, 1600, a short time after his release from prison; and Hugh Roe O'Donnell, at that time all-powerful, finding that Sir John's brother, Phelim, was likely to be more serviceable to him than a boy could possibly be, set up Phelim as chieftain of the sept or clan O'Dogherty, instead of Sir John's son, Cahir. Thus Cahir's troubles commenced early in life.

In those days a man's best friends were often the sons of his foster-mother, and in Cahir's case the MacDevitts, his foster-brethren, proved to be such, for they appealed to Sir Henry Docwra against O'Donnell's decision, and begged him to induce O'Donnell to set at liberty the young man—whom he, in order to secure his obedience, had imprisoned—promising Docwra at the same time their support if he succeeded, and offering him as an additional inducement the present of some cattle which he badly needed to feed his men. Sir Henry persuaded O'Donnell to release Cahir O'Dogherty, and the Government adopted him as chief of the sept; but, alas for the rarity of human reliability! the MacDevitts, having secured from Docwra all they wanted, disappeared like rain from the new-mown grass, taking their cattle with them.

Cahir O'Dogherty proved himself a better ally of the English than the MacDevitts had expected, for he was knighted for good service on the field of battle, and when James succeeded to the throne he was further rewarded by being confirmed by the King in all the possessions of Sir John, his father, with the single exception of the island of Inch, which, being at the time leased to another, was not available. Inch, however, the King agreed to restore later.

But though the cattle upon the thousand hills of Innishowen were the property of O'Dogherty, he was obliged, as his predecessors had been for ages, to send sixty fat "beeves" as an annual rent to The O'Neill, and O'Donnell also had some sort of peppercorn rent, in the shape of a cow or two,

out of Innishowen. When, therefore, James recognized the claims of Sir Cahir, he by no means pleased either Tyrone or Tirconnell, for the King thereby released the knight from his obligation to pay rent of any kind whatsoever to either of the Earls, with the result that, sixty cows being sixty cows, Tyrone called His Majesty's attention to the fact, adding that his claim was "never before your Majesty's reign brought to any question".

Docwra, disgusted with his position, now left Derry, for, like Sir John Harrington, he disliked seeing Tyrone, an enemy against whom he had been fighting for years, exalted, whilst so many deserving "soldiers of the Queen" were forgotten. The Lord-Lieutenant remained Tyrone's friend, while Docwra believed in and befriended Sir Cahir. Accordingly he sold his land at Derry in 1606 to a son of the Marquis of Winchester, Sir George Paulet, and shook the dust of Ireland off his feet. Docwra had been, in modern parlance, "war lord" of Ulster and had done good service, in recognition of which he was permitted to compound with Paulet for the vice-provostship of Derry, and also for his company of foot, Devonshire consenting thereto with the sententious observation that now there was "no longer use for a man of war in that place".

Sir Henry Docwra had been a man of action, "a strong still man in a blatant land". He was succeeded by a coarse, choleric man who was no sooner established in Derry than he had everybody by the ears. Being son of the Marquis of Winchester, he deemed "the mere Irish" to be so many curs for him to kick, and, being "drest in a little brief authority", he proceeded to play "such fantastic tricks before high Heaven as make the angels weep". He fought with everyone, "not alone", says Mr. Bagwell, "with the neighbouring Irish chiefs, but with the Protestant Bishop Montgomery". The man who fights with a bishop must surely "be fit for treasons, stratagems, and spoils". Tyrone, whose fitness for all three

cannot be questioned, proved the truth of this statement by his fighting for years with the Bishop of Derry and Raphoe about Termon lands. But Paulet, too deeply immersed in hot water with his adversary the Bishop, neglected Chichester's frequent warnings to post sentries or to keep strict and regular look-out, thereby proving that the testimonial he received in the King's letter of being "of good sufficiency and of service in the wars" was misleading. He was one of those who "rule by terror", and he who does so, remarked one of the wisest men of our own day, "does a grievous wrong". His own men despised Paulet for his incompetence, and hated him on account of his supercilious bearing and frequent displays of ill-temper.

Sir Cahir O'Dogherty, at this time (1607) a young man of twenty-one, accentuated his professed loyalty to England by marrying a sister of Lord Gormanstown; and so highly was he thought of by those in authority that, after the flight of the Earls, he was one of the commissioners especially appointed for the government of Tyrone, Donegal, and Armagh, his colleagues including Sir George Paulet and Bishop Montgomery. At the close of the year 1607 he was foreman of the Grand Jury who found a true bill for treason against Tyrone and Tirconnell and their followers.

"The mere Irish", as typified in Sir Cahir O'Dogherty, were, of course, Sir George's pet aversion, and therefore when it was reported to him that the Chief of Innishowen had landed armed men upon Tory Island, his anger knew no bounds. True, Sir Richard Hansard said that the men were but few, and that Sir Cahir never had more than three-score men; that he armed those of Innishowen only, and refused recruits from outside his own territory, and that, all things considered, in Sir Richard's opinion, O'Dogherty meant no harm. All this meant nothing to "the dog in office"; he saw, or thought he saw, a good opportunity to sun himself in good King James's eyes; and thinking, as he afterwards told Chichester, that he

could seize O'Dogherty's castle, Paulet proceeded to Burt on Swilly, taking with him Captain Hart, the Governor of Culmore fort, and others in his train. Arrived at the castle gates, he found only Lady O'Dogherty in residence; but a glance having convinced him that the castle, which was strongly fortified, was well defended, he protested he came only on a friendly visit, and begged Lady O'Dogherty to assure her lord of the fact.

Sir Cahir, however, took another view of the visit, and wrote a calmly-worded letter to Sir George pointing out that friendly visitors did not usually come with such a formidable retinue. This letter he concluded in sarcastic mood by subscribing himself his friendly visitor's "loving friend". Paulet, aware that he had made a mistake, now thought he would awe "the mere Irish" by adopting the same methods as those which are resorted to by the insect popularly known as the Devil's Coach-horse, which assumes a repellent aspect, desiring thereby to strike terror into the hearts of its adversaries. In reply to his letter, Paulet told his "loving friend", with characteristic pomposity, that he left him to the tender mercies of the hangman!

O'Dogherty and O'Cahan were neighbours and were friends. Their territories adjoined. O'Cahan had trusted the English, and had found his confidence abused. It was no doubt by O'Cahan's advice that, three weeks after being consigned to the scaffold by Sir George Paulet, O'Dogherty repaired to Dublin. Here, when after his long journey he had seen Chichester and assured the Viceroy of his unswerving loyalty to the Crown, he found that he would not be permitted to depart without giving sureties for his good conduct, himself in £1000, with Lord Gormanstown and Sir Thomas Fitzwilliam in 500 marks each, and that in addition he must undertake to appear in Dublin at all times when required within twenty days' notice in writing, and must not leave Ireland before Easter, 1609, without licence to do so,

his astonishment must have been great. Surely the young knight who had won his spurs on the field in fighting for England and the English must have, in that bitter moment of disappointment, recalled his friend O'Cahan's words: "The devil take all Englishmen and as many as put their trust in them".

Thinking that perhaps all Englishmen were not perfidious, O'Dogherty, in February, 1608, wrote to Henry, Prince of Wales, protesting his fidelity and requesting (for it had always been his ambition to have a place at Court) to be made a gentleman of the Prince's privy-chamber. In the world of officialdom, notwithstanding the fact that delays are oft-times dangerous, events move slowly. As in our own day medals and clasps are dispatched by those in authority to those who earned them but who have long since been dead, so the document which proved the English Government's approval of O'Dogherty and its appreciation of his services was not sent until the 18th of April. This was an order to restore the island of Inch to Sir Cahir, and all other lands hitherto withheld from him, the Government reserving only some 30 acres of ground at the mouth of the River Foyle, on which ground stood the fort of Culmore.

This document was sent, as we have said, on 18th of April. On that date (alas "the pity o' it"!), and of course before the receipt of the order, O'Dogherty, a young and impetuous man, burst into rebellion.

The immediate cause of this disastrous act is not clear. The Four Masters, who wrote some thirty years after the event, state that Paulet struck O'Dogherty; and, though there is no reference to this blow in the State papers, to sift evidence centuries later would certainly be labour in vain; suffice it, therefore, to say that Paulet, having asserted (and of this there is no doubt) that he would have O'Dogherty hanged, O'Dogherty determined if anyone was to be killed it would be Paulet.

Sir Cahir, however (judged by present-day standards), acted with a great deal of treachery. He invited Captain Hart and his wife to dinner at Buncrana, and, dinner over, took the Captain to an upper room to discuss matters privately. Here he is said to have told Hart of Paulet's insult, and without any warning he demanded of its Governor the surrender of Culmore Fort. Hart, though unarmed and alone with his infuriated host, refused. Lady O'Dogherty, hearing angry tones, burst into the room, and, surprised at the situation, implored her husband, in tears, to desist. Mrs. Hart now appeared on the scene, and O'Dogherty swore she must die with her husband, her children, and the whole garrison if she did not bring pressure to bear upon the Governor of Culmore and bring about its immediate surrender.

That O'Dogherty was in a frenzy there can be little doubt, for he threatened to fling not alone Hart and his wife from the battlements, but also Lady O'Dogherty, if she put any impediments in the way of his desire. He persisted in his demand for the surrender of Culmore, and finally Mrs. Hart consented; and going with O'Dogherty that night to the fort, she called out some of the guard, telling them that Captain Hart lay with broken bones helpless by the roadside. The guard naturally rushed to the Governor's assistance; and as they rushed out, the followers of O'Dogherty rushed in, the rest of the garrison being in their beds, and Culmore Fort was in the hands of O'Dogherty, who gave orders that Captain Hart, his wife, and children should go to Coleraine, and, in order to facilitate them, that they should be ferried across the Foyle.

Thus by the actions of dogs in office, and officialdom's delays, was a loyal knight transformed into a leader of rebellion.

CHAPTER XXIII

The O'Dogherty Defeat

O'Dogherty surprises Derry—Owen O'Dogherty kills Paulet—Phelim Reagh MacDevitt burns the Bishop's Books—He sets fire to Derry—The Royal Forces in Ulster—Sir Richard Wingfield takes O'Dogherty's Castle—O'Dogherty slain under the Rock of Doon—Chichester's Methods—Phelim caught, tried by Jury, and hanged—Ffolliott, Governor of Ballyshannon, takes Tory Island—Nial Garv arrested and sent to the Tower, where he dies.

Through the mild April night O'Dogherty, thirsting for revenge for the insults heaped upon him by Paulet, marched with his heart on fire, having with him scarcely 100 men, and some of these unarmed. Derry was reached at two o'clock in the morning of Tuesday, the 19th of April (1608). Dividing his forces, O'Dogherty attacked the storehouses in the lower forts with the view of obtaining arms for such of his followers as needed them, while he left Phelim Reagh MacDevitt, his foster-brother, to deal with the Governor's house. Paulet rushed for the house of Ensign Corbet, who fought with and wounded Phelim. While thus engaged, Corbet was struck down from behind, the man who did the deed being instantly killed by Corbet's wife, she herself becoming the victim of one of Reagh's men. Gordon, a lieutenant, jumped out of bed, in which in those days it was customary to sleep in a state of nudity, and, grasping at the weapons nearest him, a rapier and a dagger, rushed out naked, shouting to the sleeping garrison to awake and defend themselves. He was killed, but not until two of the Irish fell by his hand. Paulet fell by the hand of that mere

Irishman, Owen O'Dogherty. Lieutenant Baker, having succeeded in rallying the now fully roused garrison, made a bold effort with his little force to retake the stores, but, being insufficiently supported, succeeded in getting into Sheriff Babington's house, which he held till noon, when a cannon arrived from Culmore, and O'Dogherty's small force was largely augmented.

In the face of such odds, and seeing that he had neither arms nor provisions, the gallant lieutenant deemed it wiser to come to terms, which were, considering the circumstances, honourable. The women, with the exception of Lady Paulet and Mrs. Montgomery, the Bishop's wife, were allowed to depart with all their belongings. Each member of the garrison was also given liberty to leave, taking with him his sword and clothes. Phelim Reagh, having no love for literature, made a holocaust of "2000 heretical books" which formed the Bishop's library: a work of supererogation surely, for few could read, and books are hard to burn. When the dead were counted, it was found that each side had lost about ten men, Corbet's wife being the only woman killed.

Derry was abandoned, because so small a force would be caught like rats in a trap should the English arrive; and Phelim Reagh, being determined that the enemy should find as little as possible when they did arrive, set fire to the town and to two ships laden with corn, and reserving the best guns for his own forces, he saw that the remainder were sunk in Lough Foyle. This being done, he returned to Culmore.

By the end of April the Viceroy sent to Ulster all the forces he could spare. The officers were Sir Richard Wingfield, Marshal of the Army since 1600, and Sir Oliver Lambert, the Kitchener of that day. There was also with the forces the Vice-Treasurer, Sir Thomas Ridgeway.

On arriving at Derry on 20th of May they found less damage done than they had expected. The town, so far as its woodwork was concerned, was in ashes; the wooden roof of

the Cathedral, however, was found intact, Ridgeway's theory as to its miraculous preservation amid the general conflagration being that possibly the rebels hesitated to burn a building dedicated to St. Columba, "the patron of that place, and whose name they use as their word of privity and distinction in all their wicked and treacherous attempts", in other terms as passwords.

The work of rebuilding of Derry was forthwith commenced, the town being revictualled with cows and sheep driven in from Innishowen, and the inhabitants, who had fled or departed with the permission of Phelim Reagh, now returned and assisted the soldiers to make the town again habitable. Having now a base of action, Innishowen was invaded and Buncrana was burned, "as well from anger as for example's sake", and all live stock was confiscated, including 2000 cows, nearly 3000 sheep, and 300 to 400 horses. There was no resistance, for O'Dogherty had gone west.

Rightly deeming that while he lived there would be danger, the English commanders determined to hunt O'Dogherty, who fled before them. Coming to the conclusion that a stern chase is a long chase, Wingfield resolved to return to the scene of brave Hart's discomfiture, the Castle of Burt on Swilly. Here the garrison, who were without a commander, were in a quandary as to whether they should surrender or not. The problem was solved by one Dowling, of Drogheda, who, having lived near the Pale, presumably had a larger portion of the elements of civilization than had the wild men of Innishowen. Dowling declared in favour of an honourable capitulation, his terms including provision for Lady O'Dogherty and some means of livelihood for the garrison.

But the English officers were in no mood to parley, and their only reply to Dowling's proposal was to get the cannons ready. A monk now came forward and said if the English fired they would put Mrs. Montgomery in any breach made in their walls. There proved, however, to be no necessity to place

the Bishop's wife in this dangerous position, for on the second shot the castle was surrendered. Mrs. Montgomery, Ridgeway tells us in his journal, was "returned to her owner", presumably the Bishop, as was also a son of Captain Brookes to his father. Lady O'Dogherty, her only daughter, and Sir Cahir's sister were, with Sir Nial Garv and his two brothers, put on board His Majesty's ship *Tramontana*, and Ridgeway, evidently a student of human nature, accompanied the party, thinking, as he quaintly tells us, that as the ladies had nothing to do they must needs talk. He was agreeably surprised at Lady O'Dogherty's volubility and with her utterances, for she spent her time in using very strong expressions "against Nial Garv for drawing her husband into rebellion".

June was fast fading into July when O'Dogherty, unable to feed his men, who numbered close upon a hundred, made a desperate dash into Tyrone, where, however, he checked the zeal of his followers, limiting himself to absolute needs, and withdrew without doing any damage, driving before him only the number of cattle actually required to victual his camp. He made no attempt to regain Burt Castle, and wandered somewhat aimlessly about Armagh and Donegal. A little later, while thus wandering near Kilmacrenan, he came unexpectedly upon Wingfield, who was preparing to attack Doe Castle. Neglecting a warning not to fight, which he had received from Nial Garv, O'Dogherty attacked the English forces, and—strange irony of fate—was killed under the Rock of Doon by Irish soldiers who coveted his land. A new City Gate had been erected in Dublin, and to Dublin was sent O'Dogherty's head to be placed on the gate as an additional ornament, in contemplating which Chichester might have remarked with the Pope's Legate in Browning's *A Soul's Tragedy*: "I have known *Four*-and-twenty Leaders of Revolts".

Chichester was in Drogheda when the news reached him, and he immediately issued a proclamation addressed to the

people of Ulster, warning them on pain of death neither to harbour nor protect any of O'Dogherty's followers. With the view of paying the living out of the pockets of the dead, all who delivered up any of the traitors, although they might be traitors themselves, were promised free pardons and the goods of the person so given up. Thus a premium was set on treachery, and no man's life was safe. The sole exception to this remarkable clemency on the part of the Government was Phelim Reagh, to whom no hope of pardon was held out.

Such is the depravity of human nature, Chichester's brilliant idea of setting Ulsterman against Ulsterman had no sooner been made public than it took effect. An important capture was made by the MacShane O'Neills, who brought into the fort at Mountjoy no less a personage than Shane Carragh, a brother of O'Cahan.

Instead of executing Shane Carragh by martial law, Chichester determined to prolong the agony and have his prisoner tried by jury. By so doing, he desired to impress upon the Irish the heinousness of the man's offence. Accordingly, tried at Dungannon by an Irish jury Shane Carragh was, and on being found guilty was hanged. The Irish, it is believed, were much impressed by the solemnity of the trial.

Chichester having hanged, amongst others, some fifty members of the O'Hanlon sept, and having heard, with much satisfaction, the monk who had played a prominent part at Castle Burt renounce in public the Pope and all his works, thereby purchasing life and liberty, now marched through Glenconkein, the scene of Shane O'Neill's last days. Here, says Sir John Davies, "the wild inhabitants wondered as much to see the King's Deputy as the ghosts in Virgil wondered to see Æneas alive in hell".

The Lord Deputy, having reached Coleraine, was gratified by the news that an illegitimate brother of Sir Cahir had been captured. This was a valuable prize, for he was beloved of the people of Innishowen, who wished him to be The

O'Dogherty; but such hopes were now destined to be nipped in the bud. Another important capture was that of Owen O'Dogherty, by whose hand Sir George Paulet had been slain. But the prize of prizes was the half-dead Phelim Reagh MacDevitt, who, having been hunted into a wood, was there discovered after long and careful search, and, having resisted in a desperate attempt to save himself, was overcome by numbers, after being wounded almost to the death. Phelim was "lifted up tenderly and tended with care", for his life was precious and he must be preserved for the hangman. He was supposed to be the author of the whole rising, but on partial recovery he accused Sir Nial Garv (the non-fighter) in acrimonious terms, and was then hanged with twenty others. September found the Lord Deputy at Dublin Castle, his work in Ulster accomplished.

Sir Henry Ffolliott, the Governor of Ballyshannon, proved that in dealing with Irish rebels he also had brilliant ideas. Learning that Shane MacManus, Oge O'Donnell, was with some 240 men still holding out on Tory Island, Ffolliott determined to displace him, and, proceeding to do so, he reached on his way Glenvagh, an island fortress held by a former forester of Tirconnell, named O'Gallagher, who, says Ffolliott, "killed two or three of his best associates after he yielded up the island, for which", added the Governor of Ballyshannon, "we took him into protection".

MacManus, hearing of the approach of Ffolliott, fled with the bulk of his followers by boat into Connaught, leaving, however, eleven men in the castle on Tory Island to the tender mercies of the Governor of Ballyshannon. Here Ffolliott found the poor wretches. The constable of the castle begged to be permitted to see the English commander, and when he did so in the presence of Sir Mulmore MacSwiney, Ffolliott promised him his life on condition that he surrendered the castle with seven men dead in it. One of this miserable garrison, composed of wild men of the lowest type, was a

MacSwiney, and he too made a like bargain, "each of them", says Ffolliott in his account of the matter, "being well assured and resolved to cut the other's throat". Thus by this disgraceful bargain, and in accordance with the wild licence and strange code of ethics of the time, Sir Mulmore MacSwiney looked on while his countrymen butchered each other to make their conqueror's holiday. The result was that the constable, in endeavouring to kill a subordinate, was stabbed to the heart by the man he attacked, who in his turn was killed by another. "And so", wrote Ffolliott, well pleased with his day's work, "there were but five that escaped, three of them churls and the other two boys. . . . Shane M'Manus is deprived of his mother and two children and his boat, which I think he regards more than them all."

Sir Nial Garv O'Donnell, against whom Lady O'Dogherty and Phelim Reagh had spoken with such extraordinary vehemence, continued to profess his loyalty. It became known later that it was on his advice Sir Cahir had acted, and that the part he was to have played in the rebellion was to seize Ballyshannon and Donegal while O'Dogherty was taking Culmore and Derry. Means of intercommunication were slow in those fighting times. No doubt O'Dogherty thought he had Sir Nial Garv's co-operation, while as a matter of fact Sir Nial remained inactive, waiting, as the modern phrase has it, to see which way the cat jumped; prepared to act for O'Dogherty or not, as it proved politic and conduced to his own welfare. His wife, who read his character clearly, left him to join in the flight of the Earls; and that she was right in her bad opinion of him is proved by the fact that whilst calmly surveying O'Dogherty's struggles he did not help him, though he sent sixteen of his own men to help to surprise Derry and urged Sir Cahir to spare no one.

But Nial Garv was restless, and, being discovered to be in communication with the rebels, he was arrested at Glenveagh,

the little island stronghold already referred to, and sent to Dublin. Here he was kept until 1609, the delay being caused in getting a Donegal jury to be sworn in King's Bench. The jury, composed of Irishmen, refused to find a verdict of treason against Nial Garv, on the grounds that he had never taken up arms against the King. This decision they adhered to, although they were shut up without food from Friday until Monday, and they were discharged "in commiseration of their faintings, and for reasons concerning His Majesty's service", Sir John Davies alleging that "the priests excommunicate the jurors who condemn a traitor", an early instance of the priest interfering with the course of the law. "The Irish", asserted Sir John, "will never condemn a principal traitor: therefore we have need of an English colony, that we may have honest trials. They dare not condemn an Irish lord of a country for fear of revenge, because we have not power enough in the country to defend honest jurors. We must stay there till the English and Scottish colonies be planted, and then make a jury of them."

Under these circumstances it was deemed advisable to ship Sir Nial to London, and seven years later he died in the Tower.

Ulster suffered long from the effects of O'Dogherty's rebellion, if rebellion it can be called. The Four Masters record that "from this rising and from the departure of the Earls their principalities, their territories, their estates, their lands, their forts, their fruitful harbours, and their fishful bays were taken from the Irish of the Province of Ulster, and were given in their presence to foreign tribes, and they were expelled and banished into other countries, where most of them died".

CHAPTER XXIV

The Plantation of Ulster

English Projects for Ulster—The Confiscation of Six Counties—The Old Tribal System—The Royal Commission—The Conditions of Land Transfer—The Old State of Things—Irish Reluctance to accept New Conditions—The Scheme of Plantation—A Great Injustice done by Legal Quibble—How the Undertakers carried out their Covenant—Some of the Undertakers—The MacDonalds and the Montgomerys.

The flight of the Earls and the rebellion of O'Dogherty removed the main obstacles to the sweeping changes in Ulster which James desired to make. The Celtic land tenure, the Brehon laws, the language, customs, and traditions of the defeated race were doomed to gradual yet certain extinction. The institutions of England were to be transplanted into the sister island, irrespective of the question how far, if at all, they were suitable to the Irish. Henceforth the King's garrisons were to occupy every stronghold; the King's writ was to run in the remotest districts; the King's judges were to hold assizes in every new-made county.

To this end it was proposed that six counties of Ulster were to be confiscated to the Crown. Tyrone, Derry (then called Coleraine), Donegal, Fermanagh, Armagh, and Cavan were to be parcelled out amongst those who should undertake to lay out capital in improving them, provided the undertakers were not Irish, and were Protestants. Antrim and Down were not included in the plantation. Monaghan had been forfeited by the MacMahons in 1591, and grants made of it, so it also was not included in this plantation.

Much was expected as the result of this new system. "When this plantation", wrote Sir John Davies, "hath taken root, and been fixed and settled but a few years . . . it will secure the peace of Ireland, assure it to the Crown of England for ever, and finally make it a civil, and a rich, a mighty, and a flourishing kingdom."

In Ulster the tribal system of land tenure had been recognized longer than in the other provinces. Ulster, it must be remembered, was the last to submit, and hence in many ways was, from an English point of view, years, if not centuries, behind her sister provinces.

The method of ploughing alone will demonstrate how backward Ulster was in other ways. This was done by attaching short ploughs to the tails of the horses that drew them.

The lands of the Earls of Tyrone and Tirconnell having been, as we have seen, confiscated, and the King having decided that the natives had no more claim to them "than wild beasts or cattle could claim", the Crown was thus freed from all claims, legal or equitable, the tenants at will should be thankful for any provision, however small, and the work of the plantation might be carried out without let or hindrance.

A Commission was appointed early in 1608 to determine and define what lands belonged to the Church and what to the chiefs; and the ultimate distribution of these lands, to whom they should be given or sold, and on what conditions. To the lands of the Earls there were added, after O'Dogherty's abortive rebellion, all Innishowen—which was handed over to Chichester—and the lands of O'Cahan; thus the whole country from the Bann to Ballyshannon was at the King's disposal.

The Commissioners included the Bishop of Derry and Sir John Davies, and a committee was appointed in London consisting of Sir James Ley, Davies, Docwra, Sir Anthony St. Ledger, Sir James Fullerton, and Sir Oliver St. John,

who were all supposed to be well acquainted with the condition of things in Ulster.

Briefly, those conditions were as follows. The chiefs received their lands from the Crown, and in their turn let out large tracts, to tenants, for grazing purposes only. The chiefs held their lands by English tenure, but the tenants held theirs by Irish tenure, that is, if they could be said to hold them at all, for their grazing lands were not defined. They had simply the right to graze a certain number of cattle on the common lands of the septs. They possessed no other property than cattle, and solely in accordance with the number of head of cattle they possessed were their rents assessed. The cattle wandered about, those in charge of them living in huts and sheds until the grass was eaten down, when they removed to another district. These nomad herdsmen were known as *creaghts*.

The divisions of land were known as a *ballyboe* and a *ballybetagh*; the former consisting of between 60 to 120 acres, while the latter was about 1000. The desire of the English was to transform the wandering herdsmen into stationary farmers and tillers of the soil. To this the Irish objected. Even the chiefs held that to sow wheat or build houses was to bring ruin on the race. Rents, it may be remarked, were paid partly in oats, oatmeal, butter, hogs, and mutton, very little being paid in cash.

When it was proposed to the native Irish that they should change their nomadic life for one more settled, they "answered that it is hard for them to alter their course of living by herds of cattle and creaghting; and as to building castles or strong bawns it is for them impossible. None of them (the Neales and such principal names excepted) affect above a ballybetoe, and most of them will be content with two or three balliboes; and for the others . . . whole counties will not content the meanest of them, albeit they have but now their mantle and a sword."

It was now proposed, under the plantation scheme, that the land was to be divided amongst undertakers, English or Scotch. "Servitors", i.e. those who had served the Government in Ireland in either a civil or military capacity, were to get preference. Sir Geoffrey Fenton, who knew Ireland, pointed out "that many well-deserving servitors may be recompensed in the distribution, a matter to be taken to heart, for that it reaches somewhat to His Majesty's conscience and honour to see these poor servitors relieved, whom time and the wars have spent even unto their later years, and now, by this commodity, may be stayed and comforted without charge to His Majesty". All must be Protestants, and, under severe penalties, were forbidden to employ Irish under any conditions, save in the most menial occupations. Grants of land might be made to the Irish who were known to be loyal, but such lands must be in the plains, so that they could be kept under observation. The servitors were permitted to give leases to the Irish, whom they might keep in order by their reputation and by the possession of strong houses. But the amount of land assigned for this purpose was inadequate, and the Irish tenants, who for the most part were not given to regular agriculture, soon found themselves poor and without much hope of bettering their condition.

From this, it will be seen that the natives were placed in a position bordering on starvation. The Irish chieftains, their lords and landlords, were displaced by undertakers and servitors who needed them not, either as tenants or even as slaves (for servants would be a misleading term). This was the great injustice upon which the plantation of Ulster was founded. The land was taken from the people. The English Government had for years cried out against the evil treatment to which the poor earth-workers were subjected by their tribe lords; had represented the local communities to be governed without reference to the wants and conditions of the poor; had held out the fixity of tenure,

and freedom from arbitrary exactions, as the great benefit which the tillers of the soil were to receive when the lands were to be made shire land and subject to English law.

But although these districts had five years before been made shire land, although the judges had gone on circuit there and found freeholders enough to sit on juries, to serve upon the very juries by which the Earls had been condemned, the Government, when it suited its purpose, could insist that English law had extended to those districts as far as was necessary for the attainder and confiscation of the estates of the lords, but not so far as to secure the poor and weak in the possession of their holdings or enjoyment of their rights; or, if it did at all apply to those of base condition, its only effect was to reduce their customary rights to the delusive estate known to English law as a tenancy at will. This was the great wrong which, for more than one generation, rankled in the hearts of the Ulster Irish, which made them regard the Scottish and English settlers as robbers, maintained in the possession of their plunder by the strong hand of an overbearing foreign Government. In the remembrance of this wrong, cherished for more than thirty years, the children of those who, by a legal quibble, had been thrust out of their patrimony seized the first opportunity to regain their old estate.

The King granted estates to all, to be held by them and their heirs. The undertakers of 2000 acres held of him *in capite*; those of 1500, by knight's service, as of the Castle of Dublin; and those of 1000 in common socage. The first were, in four years, obliged to build a castle and a bawn; the second, in two years, a strong stone and brick house and bawn; and the last a bawn; timber for that purpose, as well as for their tenants' houses, being assigned to them out of the King's woods.

The first were obliged to plant on their lands, within three years, forty-eight able men, eighteen years old or

upwards, born in England, or the inland parts of Scotland, to be reduced to twenty families; to keep a demesne of 600 acres on their hands; to have four fee-farmers on 120 acres each; six leaseholders on 100 acres each; and on the rest, eight families of husbandmen, artificers, and cottagers. The others were under the like obligations proportionally; and they were all, within five years, to reside in person on some of the premises, and to have stores of arms in their houses.

In this manner, and under these regulations, were the escheated lands in Ulster disposed of to 104 English and Scottish undertakers, 56 servitors, and 286 natives, all of whom gave bond to the Government for performance of the covenants; for the better assurance whereof the King required a regular account to be sent him regarding the state of the progress of each undertaker in the plantation.

The most important peculiarity of this plantation was the grants made to the Great London Livery Companies, by which large and influential bodies in the capital and seat of Government acquired an immediate interest in Ireland. The Londoners, having more capital and better support than the other undertakers, went to work the quickest, and delighted Davies by their alacrity so much that he said he was reminded of "Dido's colony building of Carthage"; a little later he wrote, "by the end of summer the wilderness of Ulster will have a more civil form". Barnaby Rich declared Ulster to be now as safe as Cheapside; adding: "The rebels shall never more stand out hereafter, as they have in times past". With regard to the settlement in Coleraine, it is interesting to note that the whole county, the name of which was changed from Coleraine to Londonderry, was granted to the City of London in socage, the Corporation binding themselves to lay out £20,000, and within two years to build 200 houses in Derry and 100 in Coleraine.

So much for theory. How the undertakers and others

carried out their covenants is interesting. Sir Josiah Bodley's general inspection in 1615 was considered by the King to be disappointing—even the Londoners were defaulters—and James, who took a very keen interest in Ulster, indulged in maledictions, threatening all and sundry with divers consequences if the work was not proceeded with on the lines laid down. Nicholas Pynnar's survey, made three years later, proves that his opinion was not favourable. The old system of ploughing by tying light ploughs to the tails of the horses that drew them was continued; "many of the English tenants do not yet plough upon the lands, neither use husbandry". Pynnar gives other instances of the lack of progress made: "Tirlagh O'Neale hath 4000 acres in Tyrone. Upon this he hath made a piece of a bawn which is five feet high and hath been so a long time. He hath made no estates to his tenants, and all of them do plough after the Irish manner." Another delinquent "hath made no estates to any of his tenants, and they do all plough by the tail".

As to the personnel of those who came in to possess the land, it is but natural to find that the Scottish element predominated under a Stuart monarchy; and some instances of how fortune favoured the Scots may not be uninteresting, in addition to the fact that the Scottish element predominates in Ulster to-day. The MacDonalds of the Isles, for instance, exterminated, or nearly exterminated, the Irish in the north-eastern portion of Ulster, and, though attacked and defeated repeatedly by Irish and English, held their ground in spite of all their assailants. As descendants of Scottish adventurers, they had a claim upon the new royal house, and James I was willing to grant their chief even larger demesnes in Antrim than they had ever possessed or aspired to. Sir Randall MacSorley MacDonald, of Dunluce, had, just before the termination of the war, joined Sir Arthur Chichester against Tyrone, and made a full and voluntary submission to

the Lord Deputy. His tardy loyalty was highly rewarded.

By letters patent MacDonald was granted the districts known as the Route and the Glynnes, together with the Island of Rathlin, and some smaller territories, in all the northern two-thirds of the county of Antrim, at the nominal rent of 120 fat beeves and the service of 20 horse and 160 footmen. He was created, on the 25th of May, 1618, Lord Dunluce (a title derived from the castle out of which the unfortunate MacQuillans had been driven by his ancestors), and subsequently Earl of Antrim. The mutability of all things earthly could scarcely be better exemplified than by the spectacle of the sword of state being borne before the Lord Deputy by The MacSorley ("son of Sorley Boy"), whose family and clan had been treated for nearly a century, by Essex and Shane O'Neill alike, as so many vermin to be destroyed without mercy.

An equally interesting instance is that supplied by the Montgomery settlement. The sees of Derry, Raphoe, and Clogher becoming vacant, James nominated George Montgomery (whose books, as we have seen, were burnt by Phelim Reagh MacDevitt). Montgomery was of the family of Braidstaire, in Ayrshire, an offshoot of the House of Eglinton, and, finding his way to the English Court, he made himself useful both to Cecil and the King of the Scots. When Queen Elizabeth died, George, who had received the living of Chedzoy, in Somerset, and the deanery of Norwich, had the pleasure of welcoming to London his elder brother, Hugh, the laird of Braidstaire, who naturally came south with his sovereign. "They enjoyed one the other's most loving companies, and meditating of bettering and advancing their peculiar stations. Foreseeing that Ireland must be the stage to act upon, it being unsettled, and many forfeited lands thereon altogether wasted, they concluded to push for fortunes in that kingdom; and so settling a correspondence between them, the said George resided much at Court, and the laird

returned to his lady and their children at Braidstaire. . . ."

The full story told in the Montgomery MSS. proves that the laird acquired an estate and a peerage in Down at the expense of Con O'Neill, who was despoiled and driven out of his family house at Castlerea, dying in poverty in 1620 at Holywood. He was buried in the little church of Ballymaghan, which in its turn utterly perished, nothing remaining of it save an inscribed tombstone, "which was set in the wall of an adjoining office house", and is now deposited in the British Museum. On George, the King bestowed three Irish bishoprics, and, as we have seen, Montgomery and his wife had some very unpleasant experiences in Ulster. Judging from the Bishop's life, Chichester appears to have been not far wrong when he said that Bishop Montgomery affected worldly cares too much, and thought too little of reforming his clergy.

"Take it from me", said the wisest man of his day, "that the bane of a plantation is when the undertakers or planters make such haste to a little mechanical present profit, as disturbeth the whole frame and nobleness of the work for times to come."

Of such was the plantation of Ulster.

CHAPTER XXV

The Progress of the Plantation

Lord Carew appointed Special Commissioner for Ulster—His Report on the Plantation—The Duties of the New-comers—Their Experiences—The Fate of the Natives—The Position of the Swordsmen—Chichester ships them off to Sweden—The Pressure of the Press-gang—Death of Tirconnell and of Tyrone —The Might-have-beens of History.

King James was by nature a very suspicious person. He trusted no one, and one of his favourite devices for his own protection was (on the principle of "set a thief to catch a thief") to supplement the work of a commissioner who believed himself to be in supreme command by that of another who, as specially commissioned, was to overlook and report upon the work of the first. Not satisfied with Chichester's guidance in the settlement of Ulster, nor pleased with the progress made, which, if slow, was sure and steady, the King now (1611) sent over Lord Carew, formerly Sir George Carew, President of Munster (a position from which he had retired), to report on matters generally, but chiefly on the question of how to make Ireland self-supporting. He was also specially instructed to discover "how His Majesty may without breach of justice make use of the notorious omissions and forfeitures made by the undertakers of Munster, for supply of some such portion of land as may be necessary for transplanting the natives of Ulster". This was with the view of making further provision for the native Irish.

Carew in his diary gives us a graphic account of this journey undertaken by command of the King. Accompanied

by the Lord Deputy, Sir Thomas Ridgeway (afterwards Earl of Londonderry), Sir Richard Wingfield, and Sir Oliver Lambert, he started from Dublin on his mission on the 30th of July. The difficulties and dangers of the undertaking were greatly increased by a countryside flooded by three weeks' constant rainfall which swept away old landmarks, and made travelling perilous as well as irksome. Few of the rivers were fordable, and in crossing one Carew himself nearly lost his life.

The special commissioner found that the work, like all work done on a very large scale, and for which there had scarcely been a precedent (unless the work attempted, but not accomplished, in Munster could be deemed such), was being done imperfectly. Many were still on the land from which, in theory, they were supposed to have removed months before. There still lingered in the air rumours of Tyrone's possible return, and, as time passed without any reappearance of the Earl, vague whisperings announced the advent of 10,000 men from Spain, "armed with the Pope's indulgences and excommunications".

Carew found that, as of yore, the English settlers who had been long on the land joined hands with the Irish, and both alike resented the intrusion of the new-comers. The strange and unaccountable sentiment which, even in the days of the Norman invasion, led to the proud knight sinking his noble patronymic, and in exchanging it "for a barbarous equivalent" to become more Irish than the Irish themselves, had led to the older settlers acknowledging a common bond with their Irish neighbours, and adopting the same attitude of resentment towards, if not actual hostility to, the intruders who disturbed their peace. "For this cause," and the cause of religion, said Carew, "*in odium tertii*, the slaughters and rivers of blood shed between them is forgotten and the intrusions made by themselves or their ancestors on either part for title of land is remitted."

The new settlers on their side had had much to contend with, apart from the uphill work of eking out a livelihood. Their experiences were not unlike those of a pale-face who elects to live among red-Indians. An undertaker had not alone to till a neglected land, but he had to build under the strange conditions of those who, we are told, rebuilt Jerusalem, with the sword in one hand and the trowel in the other, for at any moment he might be called upon to contend with "the cruel wood-kerne, the devouring wolf, and other suspicious Irish". Even Sir Toby Caulfeild, he who was deputed to cross-examine Lady Tyrone in private on her husband's attitude towards the Government, was no better off than his fellow-settlers, but had, himself, to secure his cattle at night, driving them in at nightfall; but notwithstanding this precaution, "do he and his what they can, the wolf and the wood-kerne, within caliver shot of his fort, had often times a share".

One such early settler under the plantation scheme was of opinion that active measures should be taken by those in possession against the common enemy, and by concerted effort he held that much might be done to exterminate the offenders against law and order. He proposed that one day a week should be devoted to an organized hunt made by the inhabitants of, say, Coleraine, Dungannon, Enniskillen, Lifford, and Omagh, who, joining their forces, should also concentrate their efforts to discover the hiding-places of two-footed as well as quadrupedal foes, "and no doubt it will be a pleasant hunt and much prey will fall to the followers". The wolf by such means might be exterminated, and "those good fellows in trowzes", the creaghts, be persuaded that the wiser course was to turn a deaf ear to revolutionary counsels, and no longer harbour the plundering wood-kerne.

Such were the conditions under which the new-comers lived. The natives were, however, in a worse plight. Numerically they preponderated, but in pride of possession they

were sadly inferior. Chichester, whatever his faults may have been, was not lacking in consideration for the natives when the plantation scheme was first promulgated. His experience as Governor of Carrickfergus made him well acquainted with the conditions of life and sentiment in Ulster, and he urged that the land should be parcelled out first to the Irish, who should get all they required, and, their wants and wishes being satisfied, the residue should be planted. Had his scheme been carried out, widespread disaffection and misery might have been avoided. As it was, the condition of the Irish of all social conditions was deplorable. They were not alone made, in modern parlance, to take a back seat, and thereby treated with great indignity, which to the susceptible Irish is almost worse than death, but they were deprived of their very means of subsistence, the land, which they had the sorrow to see transferred to strangers who had come in to lord it over them. It is not to be wondered at that gentleman and kerne alike bitterly resented the new order of things and never ceased to cherish blind wild hopes of being able to "grasp this sorry scheme of things", "shatter it to bits", "and then remould it nearer to the heart's desire".

But if the condition of those who were willing and able to work for their living was bad, that of the professional soldier, who disdained to work and whose business it was to fight, was worse still. Now that Tyrone's wars were over, and Ulster in a state of comparative peace, the son of Mars found his occupation gone. Disdaining to work, the swordsman, no longer able to earn his livelihood or carve out his fortune with his trusty blade, became a rapparee, a menace to all who wished to live an honest and sober life.

Chichester set his wits to work to solve the problem of how these pests were to be got rid of, and finally decided to ship them to Sweden, there to take part in the Swedish wars. In this way the Lord Deputy claimed that he had cleared the country of at least 6000 disaffected Irish soldiers.

The situation was not of Chichester's making, for he had urged upon the Government the importance of giving the better sort of natives due consideration in the allotment of land; for there were, he pointed out, numbers of swordsmen in Ulster, sons and brothers of chiefs, men who had fought in the late wars, whom it would be highly dangerous to provoke. Some of these, he said, had fought on the English side, and had been promised special treatment. But the Deputy urged their claims in vain, and in the final settlement, as we have seen, the natives got only a miserable share out of all proportion to what they expected, and out of all proportion to what, in Chichester's view, they should have received.

The swordsmen were naturally drawn from all sorts and conditions of men—some Irish, with a sprinkling of English, and here and there a mercenary Scot, who saw no future for himself and was glad to fight in any cause and under any flag. No doubt they formed a motley crew, like Falstaff's ragged regiment. In any case they were food for powder, and, the majority being first-class fighting-men, were either induced by fair promises to go on board the transports, or, if they declined to go, had their fate decided for them at the hands of the press-gang. It was the latter method of persuasion which led to trouble on more than one occasion, and serious after-effects were felt. For instance, three ships, carrying 800 men in all, left Lough Foyle in the autumn of 1609, bound for Sweden. One of them was scarcely under sail on the open sea than the Irish mutinied, at the instance, it is said, of Hugh Boy O'Neill. They smashed the compasses, ran the ship aground, and would have done more damage if regular troops had not been within call. The disturbance was quickly quelled, chiefly through the leading mutineers being sent for "exemplary punishment", and the vessel was got off, Hugh Boy O'Neill escaping, to be no more heard of.

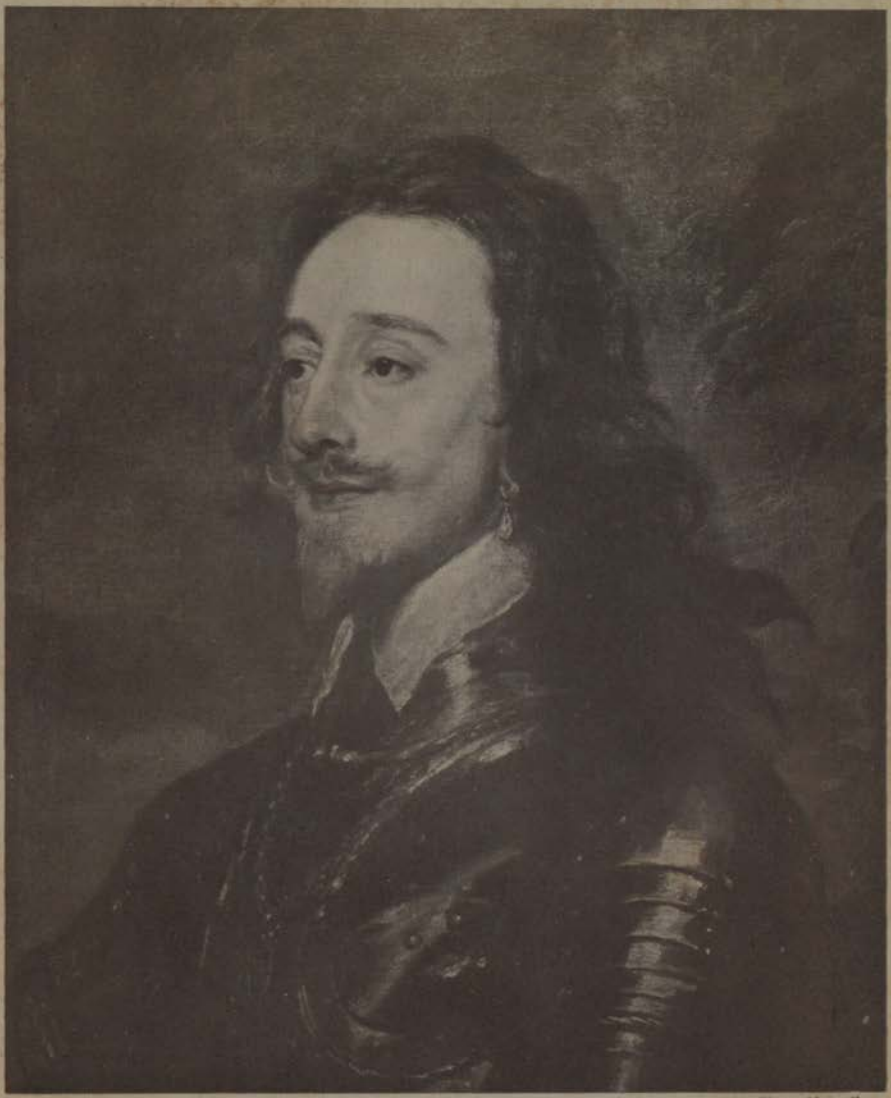


Photo. Mansell

CHARLES I

From the painting by Van Dyck in the National Gallery, London

But the good ship had not yet come to the end of her misfortunes, this time at the will of the elements, losing all her rigging in a storm, and, after being nearly broken up off the coast of Man, she was with great difficulty towed into a friendly Scottish port. Being now utterly unseaworthy, her passengers were transferred to another vessel and all sail set for Sweden; but, as the captain wrote from Newcastle complaining of the want of discipline on board, it is problematical if the majority of the men ever reached their destination, for "to speak generally they were all but an unprofitable burden of the earth, cruel, wild, malefactors". Some of them indeed did fight in the wars of Sweden, some went to swell the ranks "when our army swore terribly in Flanders", and others went with a blind desire to join Tyrone on the Continent. Mr. Bagwell says: "There seems little doubt that the rank and file were for the most part pressed". But even with this great exodus of swordsmen there were plenty left in the country, for Sir Robert Jacobs, the Solicitor-General, said there were 2000 idle men who had no means "but to feed upon the gentlemen of the country . . . he was accounted the bravest man that comes attended with most of those followers".

The settlement of Ulster was for long delayed on account of rumours of Tyrone's return; but gradually these rumours died away. Tirconnell died in 1608, within twelve months after his leaving Ireland, and was buried in San Pietro in Montorio. The report of his death, which was rather sudden, was not accepted, and thousands believed the announcement, made by a Franciscan friar, that Tirconnell was shortly to return to Ireland with 18,000 men sent by the King of Spain, and that a prophecy had been discovered in a holy book in Rome that English rule in Ireland was to last but two years more. "I know not", said Chichester, on the flight of the Earls, "what aid or supportation the fugitives shall receive from the Spaniard or the Archduke, but the kind entertain-

ment they have received compared with the multitude of pensions given to base and discontented men of this nation, makes them there and their associates and well wishers here to give out largely, and all wise and good subjects to conceive the worst. I am many ways assured that Tyrone and Tirconnell will return if they live, albeit they should have no other assistance nor supportation than a quantity of money, arms, and munition, with which they will be sufficiently enabled to kindle such a fire here (where so many hearts and actors effect and attend alteration) as will take up much time with expense of men and treasure to quench it."

Tyrone, who was given by Pope Paul V an allowance of 100 crowns a month, and a palace in which to reside, and was also the recipient of 500 crowns sent him annually by the King of Spain, became blind in his later days. With the exception of a short visit he paid to Naples, he never stirred outside the papal dominions. He died on the 20th of July, 1616, and was buried near Tirconnell, on the summit of the Janiculam Hill.

So passed away one who was described by Sir John Davies as "the most notorious and dangerous traitor that was in Ireland", but also one whom the impartial student of Irish history must acknowledge as the most formidable adversary in the field which the English ever encountered in Ireland.

It is impossible to estimate what the extent of Tyrone's power would have been had he been supported instead of being betrayed by his countrymen. His was the ancient error, the error made by Shane O'Neill, the error which sprang from the tribal system of land tenure, the error of not conciliating his fellow-countrymen, instead of domineering over them. No man can be ahead of his time, and Hugh O'Neill cannot be blamed for not being ahead of his. He was in advance of Shane O'Neill to the extent of being in alliance with O'Donnell, instead of prolonging a hostility

which had lasted for centuries. Had this powerful alliance been extended so as to embrace the O'Doghertys, O'Cahans, and other chiefs of Ulster, the whole history of the relationship of Ireland to England would have been altered. In like manner, had O'Dogherty's request to be brought into personal touch with Henry, Prince of Wales, been granted, much good would have accrued to Ireland. All historians agree in praising with no doubtful voice the virtues of the elder son of King James the First. And not historians alone, but a poet like George Chapman, who, whatever his errors may have been, was neither a liar nor a sycophant. That a Prince of such noble bearing and many and great virtues should have had his interest in Ireland aroused by his gentleman of the bed-chamber, the youthful Irish knight, Sir Cahir O'Dogherty, is a fact which would certainly so have changed the face of the things, that O'Dogherty, who had been noted for his ultra loyalty, until goaded into rebellion by the fact that his request was ignored, would assuredly have remained till his death, as his father was before him, "one of the most loyal subjects in Ulster".

These are the might-have-beens of history, and surely such conjectures are as harmless as they are interesting. They simply prove in the words of the great Persian poet, Omar Khayyám, so admirably rendered into English verse by Edward FitzGerald, himself an Irishman, that what "the Moving Finger" writes is irrevocable, alike for nations as for individuals.

CHAPTER XXVI

A Precedent for Parliaments

James decides to hold Parliament in Dublin—Instructs Carew accordingly—Changes in the Country since Perrot's Parliament—Efforts made to outvote the Roman Catholics—Creation of New Boroughs—The New Boroughs in Ulster—The Catholics apprehensive of Results—They address the King—Their Address ignored—Parliament opens in Dublin Castle—Selection of a Speaker—Ludicrous Scenes—The Recusants remonstrate and withdraw.

Although no monarch ever sat on the throne of England who held stronger views than did James, with regard to the divine right of Kings to govern right or wrong as they thought fit, he was nevertheless somewhat meticulous in his methods of obtaining legal sanction for the deeds which he held—whether those deeds were sanctioned by law or not—he had a perfect right to do. In this he resembled Henry VIII, who was not contented until both Houses of Parliament besought him, almost on their knees, to marry Jane Seymour as speedily as possible after the sentence of execution had been carried out on Anne Bolyn; which marriage, nevertheless, he had himself determined should be solemnized before Anne was twenty-four hours in her grave.

In like manner James, who decided that the natives of Ulster had no interest in or title to the land of their fathers, and had by his decision freed the Crown from all claims, legal or equitable, became all the more desirous to obtain legal sanction for the Ulster plantation; and, deeming the holding of a Parliament in Ireland the best means of realizing his wishes, he determined to hold a Parliament in Dublin as speedily as possible, and instructed Lord Carew accordingly.

As over a quarter of a century had elapsed since the last Parliament had been held in Dublin, there were many delays before His Majesty's wishes could be realized. The last Parliament had been that summoned by Perrot in 1586, and of those who had attended on that occasion only four temporal peers and the same number of bishops survived; even a complete list of the members of Perrot's Parliament could not be found, and the officials who acted when Perrot was Deputy being either dead or otherwise out of reach, even the law and practice of Parliament were forgotten.

In the long interval which had elapsed, immense changes had taken place in the country, not only in regard to its social and political condition, but even in the form and character of its representation. Formerly the members of the House of Commons represented little more than the old English Pale; whereas, since the date just mentioned, no less than seventeen additional counties had been formed, as well as a number of new boroughs, which the Lord Deputy was daily increasing by virtue of a royal commission. In order to carry out the royal policy in Ireland it was necessary to secure a Protestant majority, and this could hardly be done without creating new constituencies.

Of the seventeen new constituencies formed since 1586, many were expected to send Catholic representatives, and it was by the creation of new boroughs that Chichester proposed to overwhelm the Catholic vote of the country. Thirty-nine new boroughs accordingly were created, of which no fewer than nineteen were in Ulster; many of them mere hamlets or scattered houses, inhabited only by some half-dozen of the new Ulster settlers, several of them not even being incorporated until after the writs had been issued. Of course the power of the King to make boroughs could not be disputed, but no previous communication of the design to summon Parliament, or of the laws it was proposed to enact, had been made pursuant to Poynings' Act, and the Catholics

naturally apprehended a design to impose fresh burthens upon them.

The new boroughs in Ulster were Agher, Armagh, Ballyshannon, Bangor, Belfast, Belturbet, Charlemont, Clogher, Coleraine, Derry, Donegal, Dungannon, Enniskillen, Lifford, Limavady, Monaghan, Newtownards, Newry, and Strabane. The majority of these have since justified their selection, but in the other provinces some of the newly created boroughs were too poor even to pay the wages which it was then usual to give their representatives. The University of Dublin now returned two representatives for the first time.

The announcement of the King's intention to call a Parliament in Ireland became a subject of the greatest alarm to the Roman Catholics. On the advice of Carew a rumour was spread that every member of the House of Commons would be required to take the oath of supremacy or be disqualified; which rumour would, it was hoped, "be a means to increase the number of Protestant burgesses and knights, and deter the most spirited Recusants from being of the House".

Although James issued his instructions to Carew with regard to his desire to hold a Parliament in Ireland as early as June, 1611, it was not found possible to carry out the King's wishes until May, 1613. In the meantime, the rumours to which reference has been made thoroughly aroused the Catholics throughout the country; and in October, 1612, Sir Patrick Barnwell, notwithstanding his bitter experience in the Tower in 1605, wrote protesting against the formation of new boroughs; and in November, six of the principal lords of the Pale, Lords Gormanston, Slane, Killeen, Trimblestown, Dunsany, and Louth, addressed a letter to the King in which they complained of not having been previously consulted as to the measures to be laid before Parliament, and claimed to be the Irish Council within the meaning of Poynings' Act.

The Catholic lords then proceeded to express "a fearful suspicion that the project of erecting so many Corporations in places that can scantly pass the rank of the poorest villages in the poorest country in Christendom, do tend to naught else at this time, but that by the voices of a few selected for the purpose, under the name of burgesses, extreme penal laws should be imposed upon your subjects here, contrary to the natures, customs, and dispositions of them all in effect".

They also protested vigorously against the recent enforcement of the penal laws then in existence: "Your Majesty's subjects here in general do likewise very much distaste and exclaim against the deposing of so many magistrates in the cities and boroughs of this kingdom, for not swearing the oath of supremacy in spiritual and ecclesiastical causes, they protesting a firm profession of loyalty, and an acknowledgment of all kingly jurisdiction and authority in your Highness; which course, for that it was so sparingly and mildly carried on in the time of your late sister of famous memory, Queen Elizabeth, but now in your Highness's happy reign first extended unto the remote parts of this country, doth so much the more affright and disquiet the minds of your well-affected subjects here, especially they conceiving that by this means those that are most sufficient and fit to exercise and execute those offices and places, are secluded and removed, and they driven to make choice of others, conformable in that point, but otherwise very unfit and uncapable to undertake the charges, being generally of the meaner sort".

The writers of this important letter proceeded, with not a little courage, to point out to the King that there were already numbers of Irish rebels on the Continent, and it was therefore undesirable to add to the number of those who "displayed in all countries, kingdoms, and estates, and inculcated into the ears of foreign kings and princes

the foulness (as they will term it) of such practices". It was by "withdrawing such laws as may tend to the forcing of your subjects' conscience" that His Majesty might settle their minds and ensure their loyalty. "And so upon the knees of our loyal hearts, we do humbly pray that your Highness will be graciously pleased not to give way to courses, in the general opinion of your subjects here, so hard and exorbitant, as to erect towns and corporations of places consisting of some few poor and beggarly cottages, but that your Highness will give directions that there be no more erected, till time, or traffic and commerce, do make places in the remote and unsettled countries here fit to be incorporated, and that your Majesty will benignly content yourself with the service of understanding men to come as knights of the shires out of the chief countries to the Parliament".

The six loyal Roman Catholic lords concluded their letter by saying: "And to the end to remove from your subjects' hearts those fears and discontents, that your Highness farther will be graciously pleased to give orders that the proceedings of this Parliament may be with the same moderation and indifferency as your most royal predecessors have used in like cases heretofore; wherein, moreover, if your Highness shall be pleased out of your gracious clemency to withdraw such laws as may tend to the forcing of your subjects' consciences here in matters concerning religion, you shall settle their minds in a most firm and faithful subjection".

This letter produced no immediate result; it is said to have angered the King, who resented any opposition to his authority, and he became more resolute in the carrying out of his design. In order to stamp with his approval the measures which the Lord Deputy was taking to secure a Protestant majority, Chichester was created a peer under the title of Baron Chichester of Belfast, an honour which,

the King observed, had only been deferred in order that the meeting of Parliament might give it additional lustre.

Of the 232 members returned, 125 were Protestants, 101 belonged to the Recusant or Catholic party, and 6 were absent. The Upper House consisted of 16 temporal barons, 25 Protestant prelates, 5 viscounts, and 4 earls, of whom a considerable majority belonged to the Court party. Seeing that Parliament was about to assemble, and that no action had been taken in connection with the letter of protest addressed to the King, a petition, dated 18th May, 1613, was presented to the Lord Deputy by a number of recusant lords, embodying the complaints already put forward, and further calling the Deputy's attention to the undue bias shown by returning officers and sheriffs. An unhappy reference was made when, in commenting on the presence of troops at the ceremony as a slur on their loyalty, the Roman Catholic lords protested against the House assembling in Dublin Castle on account of its juxtaposition to the gunpowder magazine. At this Chichester flared up, and reminded the grumblers "of what religion they were of, that placed the powder in England and gave allowance to that damnable plot" (the Gunpowder Plot), "and thought the act meritorious, if it had taken effect, and would have canonized the actors".

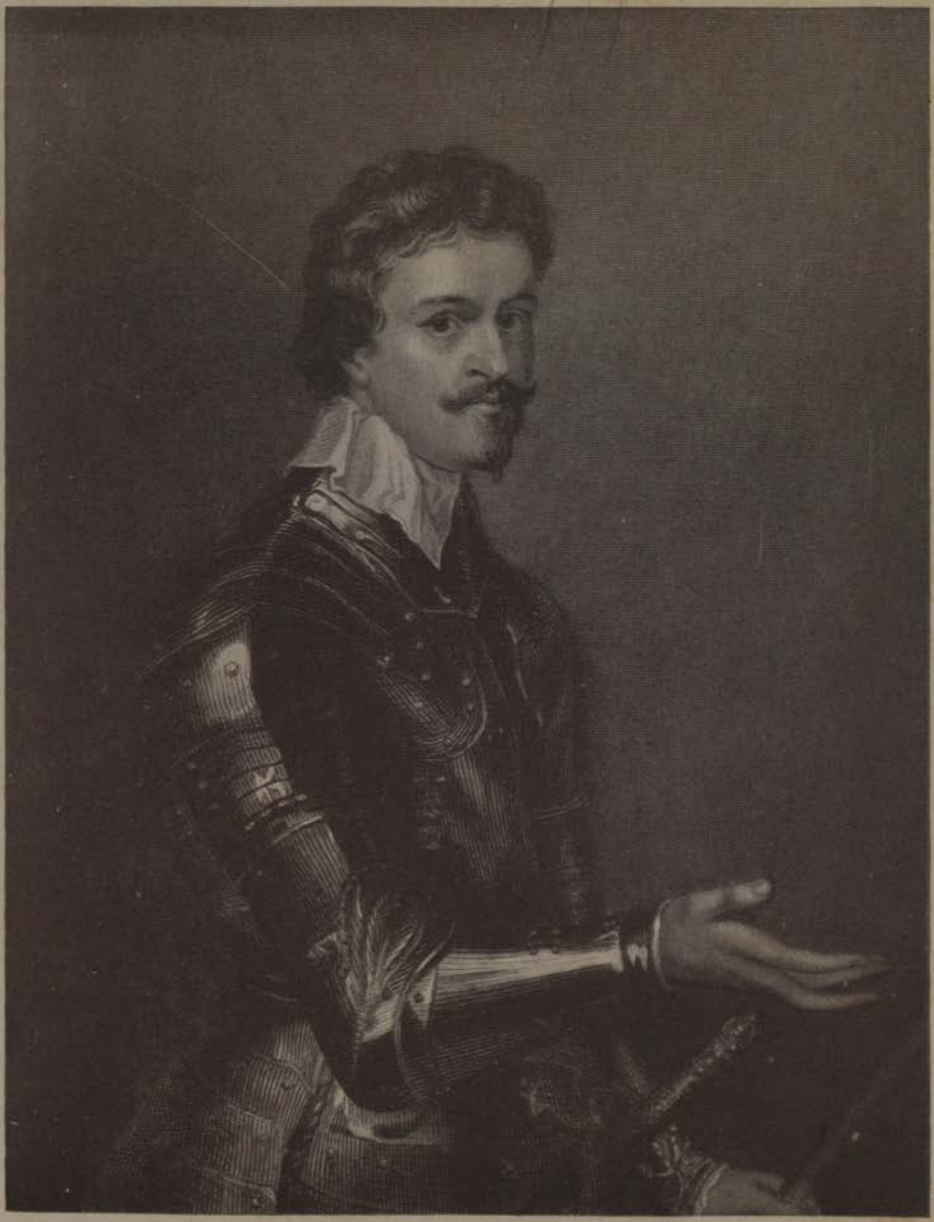
On the very date of this petition Parliament met in Dublin Castle. All was bustle and stir in the capital of Ireland for this memorable meeting. The Government, remembering recent disturbances in the city when "the ruder part of the citizens" had driven the mayor from the tholsel and had forbidden him to repair for succour to the Lord Deputy, provided 100 foot soldiers for the protection of all parties. The recusants had repaired to the meeting accompanied by armed retinues, but all was peace without the historic building whilst all was war within.

The first trial of strength between the parties was in

the election of a Speaker. Sir John Everard, member for Tipperary, who in 1607 had resigned his position as Justice of the King's Bench rather than take the oath of supremacy, was proposed by the recusants; and Sir John Davies, the Attorney-General, who had been returned for Fermanagh, by the Court party. The recusants deemed the numerical majority of their opponents to be factious and illegal, as it really was; and in the absence of the Court party in another room, for the purpose of being counted, according to the forms then in use, they placed their own candidate in the Speaker's chair, in which he was held down by Sir Daniel O'Brien of Clare and Sir William Burke of Galway.

On the return of the Court party, Sir Thomas Ridgeway, the Vice-Treasurer, who sat for Tyrone, and Sir Richard Wingfield, afterwards Viscount Powerscourt, offered to tell for both parties; and after much confusion, caused by the Opposition making by their movements the counting difficult, it was found, of a possible 232, that 127 were for Davies, and Everard was therefore called upon by Sir Oliver St. John, Master of the Ordnance, to leave the chair. This he was unable to do. Whereupon the tellers made Davies sit on his knees; and, seeing that this ludicrous proceeding had no effect upon the sedentary would-be Speaker, they pulled Everard out of the chair, tearing, it is said, his clothes by their violence. On the other hand, an eyewitness declared that "not so much as his hat was removed on their Speaker's head".

Their Speaker, hat and all, having been ejected from his chair, the recusants left the House, William Talbot, member for Kildare, who had been removed from the Recordship of Dublin for refusing to take the oath of supremacy, shouting to be heard above the din as he left the chamber: "Those within are no House; and Sir John Everard is our Speaker, and therefore we will not join with you, but we will complain to my Lord Deputy and the King, and the King shall



THE EARL OF STRAFFORD

After a painting by Van Dyck

hear of this". On reaching the outer door the Opposition found that, during the division, it had been locked, and Sir William Burke, with Sir Christopher Nugent, member for Westmeath, re-entered and demanded egress. Sir John Davies, who was in the Speaker's chair, courteously invited them to be seated, but they declined, and, the doors being opened, the entire party departed, stating that they would never again return.

CHAPTER XXVII

The Romanists Remonstrate

Non-Parliamentary Proceedings—The Deputy vainly endeavours to appease the Recusants—The Recalcitrant Roman Catholics repair to London—The Deputation is received by the King—Monarchical Methods of Debate—Talbot sent to the Tower—Luttrell hurried to the Fleet—James lectures the Roman Catholics—The King surprises Sir James Gough.

The Roman Catholic lords evidently did not intend that matters should end with the vigorous protest made before their departure from the House of Commons assembled in Dublin Castle; for the week following was devoted by them to conveying in writing to the King a repetition of their previous protests, and they even had the hardihood to threaten James, whose pusillanimity was well known to be on a par with his prudence, that they would offer an armed resistance to any severe measures against them; which threat, taken in conjunction with their violence and the popular clamour in their favour, gave cause for the gravest apprehensions, especially when it was recognized that the whole military strength of the Irish Government at the time amounted to no more than 1700 foot and 200 horse.

Not content with writing to the King, the Opposition in the House of Commons addressed the English Council, insisting on their claims, and maintaining that Everard was the Speaker, not Davies, and stating, what was not the fact, that he had been forcibly ejected. They then proceeded to deluge the Lord Deputy with petitions, sending no fewer than three in two days. In these they declared their willing-

ness to attend, if they did not thereby jeopardize their lives, and requesting that they might have opportunities to question improper returns. Chichester readily granted their request, and said, as a member of the Upper House, he was prepared to receive their Speaker.

The Commons met again on the morning of the 21st, but the recusants refused to attend, and demanded the exclusion of the members to whose return they objected. In this emergency, and having exhausted all methods of persuasion, Chichester acted with great prudence and moderation. He issued a proclamation commanding the seceders to return to their posts, while privately he used remonstrance and entreaty with the chiefs of the party, urging them to unite with the other members of each house in furthering the business of the nation, at least so far as to pass an Act of recognition of the King's title; and the Lord Deputy even promised the recalcitrant members that no other Bill should for the present be brought forward. He proposed various measures of conciliation, and offered to let the decision of the questions in dispute be referred to an impartial committee. But all his efforts were in vain, and he found the Opposition obstinate and impervious alike to persuasion or threats. He then, as a last resource, prorogued the Parliament, in order to gain time for the furtherance of other conciliatory measures, in the hope of appeasing the clamours which had been raised by the situation, and found that when a general levy of money to defray expenses was made all over the country, "the popish subjects did willingly condescend" thereunto.

In their address to the King the recusant lords said: "We cannot but, out of the consideration of our bounden duty, make known unto your Highness the general discontentment which these strange, unlooked-for, and never-heard-of courses generally have bred, whereof, if the rebellious discontented of this nation abroad, do take advantage, and procure the evil affected at home (which are numbers, by

reason of these already settled and intended plantations), in any hostile fashion to set disorders afoot, and labour some underhand relief from any prince or state abroad, who, peradventure, might be inveigled and drawn to commiserate their pretended oppressions and distresses, however we are assured the prowess and power of your Majesty will in the end bring the authors thereof to ruin and confusion, yet will things be brought into greater combustion, to the effusion of much blood, exhausting of masses of treasure, the exposing of us and others, your Highness's well-affected subjects, to the hazard of poverty, whereof the memory is yet very lively and fresh among us, and finally to the laying open the whole commonwealth to the inundation of all miseries and calamities which garboiles, civil wars, and dissensions do breed and draw with them in a rent and torn estate."

This address the Roman Catholic lords now determined to follow up by sending delegates to represent their grievances to the King. To this Chichester made no objection, taking, however, at the same time, the precaution to have the views of the Government also laid before James, and to that end he sent Lord Thomond, Chief Justice Denham, and Sir Oliver St. John to explain the situation. The members of the deputation representing the Opposition included Lords Gormanston and Dunboyne, Sir James Gough, Sir Christopher Plunkett, William Talbot, and Edward FitzHarris, the defeated candidate for the county of Limerick. These six persons were augmented in numbers on James's saying he would willingly see more representatives; accordingly six peers and fourteen commoners arrived in July, among them being Everard, whose Speakership had been nipped in the bud; Sir Patrick Barnwell, who apparently approached London undeterred by the terrors of the Tower; and Thomas Luttrell, who sat for County Dublin, and, having behaved on several occasions like a bellicose bantam cock, was gravely described in official papers as "turbulent and seditious".

Talbot's turbulence, however, like that of Luttrell, was quelled after twelve months in the Tower, to which the former was sent at an early stage in the proceedings because he could not see his way to condemn with sufficient emphasis the opinions of the Jesuit Suarez as to the deposition and murder of kings. Possibly Talbot anticipated De Quincey on "Murder considered as one of the Fine Arts", and held that "the habit of murder leads to Sabbath-breaking and procrastination". Whether he held these views or not, he took some pains to explain to James personally that he did not believe in regicide, but he thought that kings might be deposed for the benefit of the country they misgoverned. James, to convince Talbot of his errors, sent him to the Tower with extracts from the works of Suarez and Parsons upon which to meditate, while the King himself went on progress to the west, and Luttrell loathed life for three months in the Fleet prison, which in those days must have been a horrible hole in which to be incarcerated, especially during the summer; and thus he was incapacitated from being present with the other members of the deputation who "did use daily to frequent their secret conventicles and private meetings, to consult and devise how to frame plaintive articles against the Lord Deputy".

Sir Patrick Barnwell, having had personal experience of both Fleet and Tower, would by no means have agreed with the poet who declared that "Stone walls do not a prison make, nor iron bars a cage". Sir Patrick knew full well the folly of such poetic expression, and he therefore had no hesitation whatever when called upon to declare that he considered the doctrines of Suarez and Parsons "most profane, impious, wicked, and detestable . . . that His Majesty or any other sovereign prince, if he were excommunicated by the Pope, might be massacred or done away with by his subjects or any other". With regard to James himself, he declared in no dubious language that "notwithstanding any

excommunication or any other act which is or may be pronounced or done by the Pope against him", all His Highness's subjects should be prepared to pour forth their life's blood to defend him and his kingdoms.

The King ultimately dismissed the deputation after he had given them a severe rating in his own peculiar style, taunting them with being "a body without a head, a headless body; you would be afraid to meet such a body in the streets; a body without a head to speak!" and he asked: "What is it to you whether I make many or few boroughs? My council may consider the fitness if I require it; but if I make forty noblemen and four hundred boroughs—the more the merrier, the fewer the better cheer." "In the matter of Parliament", he said in conclusion, "you have carried yourselves tumultuarily and undutifully; and your proceedings have been rude, disorderly, and inexcusable, and worthy of severe punishment; which by reason of your submission, I do forbear, but not remit, till I see your dutiful carriage in this Parliament, where, by your obedience to the Deputy and State, and your future good behaviour, you may redeem your by-past miscarriage, and then you may deserve, not only pardon, but favour and cherishing. . . . Nothing faulty is to be found in the government; unless you would have the kingdom of Ireland like the kingdom of Heaven. . . . The Pope is your father *in spiritualibus*, and I *in temporalibus* only, and so you have your bodies turned one way and your souls drawn another way; you that send your children to the seminaries of treason. Strive henceforth", he admonished the astonished deputation, "to become good subjects, that you may have *cor unum et viam unam*, and then I shall respect you all alike. But your Irish priests teach you such grounds of doctrine as you cannot follow them with a safe conscience, but you must cast off your loyalty to the King."

After having been admitted to several audiences, the members of the deputation drew up and presented to the King

nineteen general articles of grievance in the government of Ireland, and demanded that impartial commissioners should be appointed to make an enquiry into their truth. The King yielded to their request, and towards the end of August he issued a commission to Chichester, Sir Humphrey Winch, late Chief Baron in Ireland and now a Judge of Common Pleas; Sir Charles Cornwallis, lately an Ambassador in Spain; Sir Roger Wilbraham, who had been Solicitor-General in Ireland; and George Calvert, Clerk of the Council. The Commissioners were to enquire into all matters concerning the Irish elections and the proceedings in Parliament, and to report upon all general and notorious grievances, some of which were mentioned. One of the concessions made as a result of this commission was that the members for boroughs incorporated after the writs were issued had no right to sit.

Religion being in the air, the first thing the Commissioners found was, that "a multitude of Popish schoolmasters, priests, friars, Jesuits, seminaries of the adverse Church, authorised by the Pope and his subordinates for every diocese, ecclesiastical dignity, and living of note", were being supported and countenanced. The Commissioners also found that billeted soldiers did exact money from the people, "whereby breach of the peace and affrays are occasioned". They also found that "there are . . . very few Protestants that are freeholders of quality fit to be sheriffs, and that will take the oath of supremacy as by the laws they ought to do, and by the Lord Deputy's order no sheriff is admitted till he enter into sufficient bond for answering his accounts".

References have already been made to the Ulster custom of "ploughing by the tail". There were many reasons for its abandonment. In the first place, the method of attaching a small light plough to the tails of ponies driven abreast was needlessly cruel; in the second, such a mode of agriculture was ineffective and obsolete. This method of ploughing had been prohibited by Order in Council in 1606, the penalty

being the forfeiture of one animal for the first offence, two for the second, and three for the third. There was, of course, no penalty if traces were used. The excellence of its breed of horses has for centuries been a source of pride in Ireland, and it is therefore astonishing to find the tenacity with which the inhabitants of agricultural districts in Ulster clung to a custom that "besides the cruelty used to the beasts", is also one whereby "the breed of horses is much impaired in this kingdom to the great prejudice thereof". The Commissioners found that the forbidding of this practice was considered a great grievance.

The Report of the Commissioners having been perused and approved of by the King, he sent Sir Richard Boyle to Ireland with a proclamation, in which the King announced that he had in person debated with the members of the Deputation sent by the recusants (his methods of debating with Talbot we have noted), and that he had found the Lord Deputy "full of respect to our honour, zeal to justice, and sufficiency in the execution of the great charge committed unto him".

In the meantime some members of the Deputation, in taking leave of the King, were treated to a speech the heads of which one of the party present on the occasion, Sir James Gough, noted. In his peroration James, addressing his audience, which included Lords Gormanston and Roche, Patrick Hussy, member for Meath and titular Baron of Galtrim, and Gough, said: "As for your religion, howbeit that the religion I profess be the religion I will make the established religion among you, and that the exercise of the religion which you use (which is no religion, indeed, but a superstition) might be left off; yet will I not ensue or extort any man's conscience, and do grant that all my subjects there (which likewise upon your return thither I require you to make known) do acknowledge and believe that it is not lawful to offer violence unto my person, or to deprive me of my

crown, or to take from me my kingdoms, or that you harbour or receive any priest or seminary that would allow such a doctrine. I do likewise require that none of your youth be bred at Douai. Kings have long ears, and be assured that I will be inquisitive of your behaviour therein." Having thus given ample evidence that one King at least had "long ears" James dismissed Gough and his companions.

Gough delightedly repeated the King's speech to a fellow-passenger to Ireland—Sir Francis Kingsmill, and on landing not alone published the message of the King to his people, but actually delivered it at Dublin Castle in the presence of the Lord Deputy, delivering "the most true and great King's words", "in the action and tone of an orator". Chichester, scarcely able to believe his ears, commanded the orator's presence in private audience, where the beamingly confident Gough repeated his message and maintained that such were the *ipsissima verba* of the modern Solomon. Chichester, perplexed and unconvinced, detained the bewildered understudy of the British Solomon under restraint in the Castle, there to await the King's pleasure.

The King, far from being pleased when the matter reached his ears, admitted that he had used the language imputed to him, but denied that he had given Sir James Gough liberty to circulate it. He directed that Gough should be detained until he made submission, which Gough forthwith did, and, being released, left the Castle, no doubt a sadder and a wiser man, possibly muttering *sotto voce* as he took his departure, "put not your trust in" the perorations of "princes"!

CHAPTER XXVIII

Tyrone and Tirconnell Attainted

Talbot examined before the Star Chamber—He is declared Guilty and fined —A Farcical Trial—Baconian Wisdom displayed—The Irish Parliament opens—Its ways are ways of Pleasantness, and all its paths are Peace—A Subsidy Bill passed—Tyrone, Tirconnell, and O'Dogherty attainted—Fynes Moryson on the Present State of Ulster.

"I do acknowledge my sovereign liege lord King James to be lawful and undoubted King of all the Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and I will bear true faith and allegiance to his Highness during my life." So said William Talbot, ex-Recorder of Dublin, when questioned before the Star Chamber in London, concerning the result of his study of the works of Suarez, the Jesuit, excerpts from which he had been meditating upon during his sojourn in the Tower. One would imagine that any sane sovereign would have been satisfied with such a plain and evidently sincere expression of loyalty. Not so James, who, in addition to being worldly minded, was, in George Eliot's happy phrase, *other-worldly* minded also. He would be the shepherd, not alone of the bodies of his subjects, but also of their souls. Their spiritual welfare, indeed, occupied, as Head of the Church, not a little of His Majesty's kind attention.

Looking back from a day in which science and supernaturalism must be content to coexist, if not to walk hand in hand, to a day in which superstition of the most vulgar type held sway over the mightiest minds, one cannot help (when one has, with an effort, put aside a vision of the cruelty of creeds) being struck with the humour of this Star Chamber

IRELAND.

GREEN.	The Plantations of Mary.
BLUE.	The Plantations of Elizabeth.
RED.	The Ulster Plantation of James I.
ORANGE.	The later Plantation of James I.
YELLOW.	The lands confiscated by Charles I. but never planted.

comedy. A comedy enacted before the most solemn tribunal in Europe—the Inquisition alone excepted. In the first place, Talbot had been requested to take the English oath of allegiance, although the oath had no statutory force in Ireland. In the second, Talbot's clear statement of unswerving loyalty to the King really left nothing on that score to be desired; but because he, when questioned on the subject of the doctrine of regicide and the deposition of Kings, as set forth by Suarez and Parsons, replied that in the abstract these were matters of faith and must be submitted to the judgment of the Catholic Roman Church, he was condemned, and solemnly fined £10,000, a sum which his judges well knew he did not possess, and therefore could not possibly pay. In addition to this comedy of errors, Bacon, who must be regarded as the *Pooh Bah* of the play, being politician, lawyer, theologian, and philosopher, and having, as his later life revealed, more in common with this Gilbertian character than his contemporaries were in his early days aware of, was quite satisfied in any one or all of the rôles enumerated that Talbot was innocent, but in his *official capacity* of Attorney-General he was far from being so, and, therefore, with ultra-Baconian gravity he declared that "it would astonish a man to see the gulf of this implied belief", and asked: "Is nothing exempted from it? If a man should ask Mr. Talbot whether he do condemn murder, or adultery, or rape, or the doctrine of Mahomet, or of Arius instead of Zuarius; must the answer be with this exception, that if the question concern matter of faith (as no question it does, for the moral law is matter of faith) that therein he will submit himself to what the Church will determine."

The Irish Parliament, which on account of various causes had been prorogued six times, now met on 11th October, being opened by Chichester in person. The Lord Deputy was armed with a letter from the King, in which His Majesty made his final pronouncement on Irish affairs. A

spirit of compromise pervaded this communication. The Government were right, therefore they were to be quiescent; the Opposition were wrong, but were to be left severely alone lest they should be tempted to go further astray. As already stated, it was settled that the members for boroughs incorporated after the writs were issued were not to sit during the present Parliament, and the decision of the Commissioners with regard to three other boroughs was confirmed. Everything else was declared to be in order.

This letter the Lord Chancellor read aloud to the assembled House, which listened patiently enough as the royal writer led them by tortuous ways through labyrinthian arguments to a welcome finale. Sir John Davies, as Speaker, "wearing his learning lightly like a flower", made one of his graceful speeches full of classical allusions which must have had much the same effect upon the majority of his Irish audience, some of whom could speak no English, as Milton's elephant had upon our First Parents, when, according to our great blind poet, to make them sport he "wreath'd his lithe proboscis". More serious business followed, and the recusants, to their credit be it said, listened as patiently while the Speaker offered up a prayer as they did to his many references to "Æschylus, Sophocles, Homer, Herodotus, Pindar, and Plato".

In the subsequent sessions of this Parliament, until it was dissolved in October, 1615, no further display of angry feelings between the two parties took place, both Talbot and Everard exerting themselves to prevent any disturbance. There were, in fact, mutual concessions. An intended penal law of a very sweeping character was not brought forward; while, on the other hand, large subsidies, which gratified the King, were readily voted, a fact which greatly surprised Vice-Treasurer Ridgeway, seeing that the House was "compounded of three several nations, besides a fourth (consisting of Old English Irelandized, who are not numbered among the mere Irish or New English), and of two several blessed

religions (whatsoever more), besides the ignorance of almost all (they being at first more afraid than hurt), considering the name, nature, and sum of a subsidy".

Ignorance there undoubtedly was, though the willingness to pay was palpable, many of the Irish members expressing their gratification at the result of the vote, and even asserting that a further subsidy would have been given if required, but for the great loss of cattle during the preceding severe winter. By this Bill, Parliament gave to the Crown two shillings and eightpence in the pound from every personal estate of the value of three pounds and upwards, and twice that sum from aliens; and four shillings in the pound out of every real estate of the value of twenty shillings and upwards. Half the money was to be paid in the September following, and the balance in March, 1616.

It was popularly supposed that "the King was never the richer for Ireland", and the preamble of the Bill sets forth as much. "But forasmuch as since the beginning of His Majesty's most happy reign all the causes of war, dissension, and discontentment are taken away" (Ulster being successfully planted!), the King was now "in full and peaceable possession of his vineyard", and naturally expected to get something more than sour grapes therefrom.

An Act of oblivion and general pardon was passed, "no kingdom or people" being, in Davies's opinion, in "more need of this Act for a general pardon than Ireland".

The measure, however, which renders this first Irish Parliament of James most memorable was the Bill for the attainder of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, Hugh Roe O'Donnell, Earl of Tirconnell, Sir Cahir O'Dogherty of Innishowen, and several other Ulster chiefs. This was passed by the Commons without a single dissentient voice; Sir John Everard, indeed, speaking in its favour, said: "No man ought to arise against the Prince for religion or justice", and added that the many favours bestowed upon

Tyrone in particular had greatly aggravated his offence. Davies, highly pleased, wrote: "Now all the states of the kingdom have attainted Tyrone, the most notorious and dangerous traitor that was in Ireland, whereof foreign nations will take notice, because it has been given out that Tyrone had left many friends behind him, and that only the Protestants wished his utter ruin. Besides, this attainder settles the Plantation of Ulster."

The passing of this Act of Attainder, and its being sanctioned by the Catholic party, has been deplored by many historians of Ireland, notably by Thomas Moore, who considered that it had been allowed to pass in a suicidal spirit of compromise, and, judged from that standpoint, he thought it assumed "a still more odious character, and left a stain upon the record of the proceedings".

The King was highly delighted with the liberal terms of the subsidy, and addressed a letter of thanks to the Lord Deputy begging him to express his feelings to Parliament. His Majesty now "clearly perceived" that "the difficult beginnings of our Parliament" in Ireland "were occasioned only by ignorance and mistakings, arising through the long disuse of Parliaments there; and therefore", he said, "we have cancelled the memory of them". "And we are now", he added, "so well pleased with this dutiful confirmation of theirs, that we do require you to assure them from us that we hold our subjects of that kingdom in equal favour with those of our other kingdoms, and that we will be as careful to provide for their prosperous and flourishing estate as we can be for the safety of our own person."

The recusants, taking advantage of these assurances, renewed their appeal for relief from the grievances of the penal statutes. They pleaded their good services in the present Parliament, the readiness with which they had granted a large subsidy, their subserviency even in sacrificing the northern chieftains, especially the Earls of Tyrone

and Tirconnell, who had been looked upon as the pillars of the Catholic faith in Ireland; and they even more than hinted at their willingness to vote further grants to the Crown provided that the obnoxious Acts complained of were, if not repealed, even temporarily relaxed. But they soon found that, in spite of the show of moderation and indulgence he had lately assumed, nothing was further from the King's thoughts than to give up any of the points on which he had insisted. James exulted in the manner in which he had on this occasion weathered the gale of Irish faction; and no sooner had the subsidy Bill passed than the Irish Parliament was suddenly and unexpectedly dissolved, leaving untouched several measures for the improvement of Ireland which had been recommended to the consideration of the Government.

Of twenty projected Acts, "concerning the common weal or general good of the subject", only two became law, those against piracy and against benefit of clergy in cases of felony. A Bill for confirming royal grants to undertakers in Ulster came to nothing. The old laws proscribing the natives of Irish blood, as well as those against the Scottish settlers, were repealed, for England, Scotland, and Ireland were now "under one Imperial crown". Finally, the Statute of Kilkenny, and all other Acts prohibiting commerce between English and Irish, were to be treated as obsolete.

In the midst of these many and great changes Fynes Moryson, who, as secretary to Mountjoy, had returned with him to England, now revisited Ireland. "At this time", he says, "I found the state of Ireland much changed; for by the flight of the Earl of Tyrone and the Earl of Tirconnell, with some chiefs of countries in the north, and the suppression and death of Sir Cahir O'Dogherty, their confederate in making new troubles, all the north was possessed by new colonies of English, but especially of Scots. The mere Irish in the north, and all over Ireland, continued

still in absolute subjection, being powerful in no part of the kingdom excepting only Connaught, where their chief strength was yet little to be feared, if the English-Irish there had sound hearts to the State.

"But the English-Irish in all parts, and especially in the Pale, either by our too much cherishing them since the last rebellion (in which we found many of them false-hearted), or by the King's religious courses to reform them in their obstinate addiction to popery (even in those points which oppugned His Majesty's temporal power), or by the fulness of bread in time of peace (whereof no nation sooner surfeits than the Irish), were grown so wanton, so incensed, and so high in the instep, as they had of late mutinously broken off a Parliament called for the public good and reformation of the kingdom, and from that time continued to make many clamorous complaints against the English governors (especially those of the Pale against the worthy Lord Deputy and his ministers), through their sides wounding the royal authority; yea, in all parts, the churl was grown rich, and the gentlemen and swordsmen grown needy, and so apt to make a prey of other men's goods."

Among the grievances pointed out in a memorial presented at this time by the Catholics were, that their children were not allowed to study in foreign universities, that all the Catholics of noble birth were excluded from offices and honours, and even from the magistracy in their respective counties; that Catholic citizens and burgesses were removed from all situations of power or profit in the different corporations; that Catholic barristers were not permitted to plead in the courts of law; and that the inferior classes were burdened with fines, distresses, excommunications, and other punishments, which reduced them to the lowest degree of poverty.

Contemplating which state of things the modern reader will scarcely echo Cowper's words: "Religion! what treasures untold reside in that beautiful word!"

CHAPTER XXIX

Chichester Retires

Protestantism in Ulster—An Incipient Plot—The Fighting MacDonalds and others—The Dream of Rory Oge O'Cahan—His Rude Awakening—Chichester retires after eleven years' rule — The Execution of Bishop O'Devany — The Case of the Recusants—Trouble in Ulster.

When Con O'Neill, distinguished as *Bacagh*, or The Lame, was created Earl of Tyrone by Henry VIII, his secretary, O'Kervellan, who had been appointed by the Pope to the bishopric of Clogher, resigned his bulls and renounced the authority of Rome; whereupon he was forthwith confirmed in his See by the King. Thus the submission of Ulster was accompanied by the introduction of Protestantism.

In addition to the sudden introduction of the Protestant confession of faith—with regard to which the new settlers in Ulster in later days acted upon the declared principle that, since the native Irish were bigoted papists, it was necessary first to lead them to the opposite extreme, in order to bring them ultimately right—and to the penalties to which the recusant portion of the population was exposed, other causes of discontent now arose, especially in the rivalry between the older inhabitants of the province and their supplanters, a sentiment which apparently nothing could appease.

Even the transplantation of the Irish themselves from one locality to another only increased the feeling of discontent; for the older families, who traced their descent from the chiefs of the sept who had held the same land from time

immemorial, swayed by all the ancient prejudices of their race, looked with contempt upon the new Irish settlers around them, and treated them in a manner which excited new jealousies and enmities. This was long continued in connection with the extensive plantations in Ulster, where this rivalry of races and families showed itself continually, and culminated occasionally in plots and conspiracies.

One of these plots, discovered in the year 1615, is said to have had for its aim the seizure of the forts in Ulster and the extirpation of the English settlers. It led only to the conviction and execution of the chief conspirators; but only a few years later these rivalries were made palpable in one of the most sanguinary tragedies that ever stained the annals of Ireland, and this notwithstanding the fact that Ulster had been declared to be "cleared from the thorns and briars of rebellion".

The chief cause of this brief and hopeless rising illustrates the truth of the poetic dictum that "Satan finds some mischief still for idle hands to do". That the hands and brains of the devisers of this singularly weak plot were idle was primarily the fault of the Government, who had not provided them with land on which they could find employment; in other words, Chichester's warning had been ignored, and his words had come true—landless men unprovided for in the settlement proved a source of danger.

The fighting MacDonalds found they were aggrieved, and they nursed their grievance until, having smouldered for a time, it burst into flame. We have seen how good fortune attended the steps of Sir Randall MacSorley MacDonald of Dunluce, and how he was granted large territories, amounting in all to nearly two-thirds of the county of Antrim. This, no doubt, was calculated to greatly please Sir Randall, but the King's generosity by no means pleased Sir Randall's relatives, who considered that he had been treated too generously, while they themselves had been neglected.

Among the grumblers on this score were Alexander MacDonald and his brother Sorley, nephews of Sir Randall, and a cousin named Ludar, who rejoiced in the distinction of a bar sinister.

Malcontents readily find a following, for there is no sentiment more deeply rooted in the human heart than that of discontent, and it is therefore not surprising that the MacDonalds were speedily joined, on one pretext or another, by a selection of O'Dohertys, O'Neills, O'Donnells, and O'Cahans, all desirous to live or die "for the cause"—the cause being the acquisition of such lands as by force of arms they could acquire for themselves; but, this being too palpable and selfish a proposition, they easily persuaded each other, if not themselves, that their concerted action was in the sacred cause of religion. By making this declaration the conspirators enlisted the sympathy and active aid of the Church. "Though thou shouldst die in this service", said a friar named Edmund Mullarkey to Cormac Maguire, when urging him to join this Band of Hope, "thy soul shall be sure to go to Heaven; and as many men as shall be killed in this service all their souls shall go to Heaven. All those who were killed in O'Dogherty's war are in Heaven."

Among the conspirators was Brian Crossagh O'Neill, an illegitimate son of Sir Cormac MacBaron (Tyrone's brother); Art Oge O'Neill, and Rory O'Cahan. One of the chief objects of the band was to get possession of an illegitimate son of Tyrone, who was in the custody of Sir Toby Caulfeild; but in this they were balked, for the lad was sent out of their reach to Eton, and appears to have been transferred to the Tower in 1622, when all records of him cease.

Rory Oge O'Cahan was the eldest son of Sir Donnell, and no doubt hated Sir Thomas Phillips, who had apprehended his father, and now lived in the O'Cahan castle at Limavady. Phillips was officially described as "a brave soldier all his life", and he kept the castle in good repair,

with moat, drawbridge, and two tiers of cannon. It must have galled Rory to see Phillips's "two-storied residence, slated, with garden, orchard, and dovecote" on the land which from time immemorial belonged to the O'Cahans. There is little doubt that he hated Sir Thomas, and that one of his chief objects in thus starting an insurrection was to be revenged on Phillips and regain his ancestral home.

But Rory, alas! like too many of his fellow-countrymen, was frequently inebriated with more than the exuberance of his own verbosity, to adapt a phrase which the genius of Disraeli has made classic; and in consequence he divulged when tipsy the fact that the first object of attack should be Coleraine, as he had a friend who could "command the guard to betray the town, as by letting them in, and that then, being in, they would burn the town and only take Mr. Beresford and Mr. Rowley prisoners, and to burn and kill all the rest, and to take the spoil of the town, and so if they were able to put all Derry to death by fire and sword". With imagination aflame, Rory saw visions in which Lifford was reduced to ashes, Sir Richard Hansard alone being saved, as the one righteous person in a wicked town; victory followed victory, and the forts of Mountjoy, Carrickfergus, and Massereene, "and all other English settlements", fell to rise no more. Rory the victorious dictated terms to the hated English, holding the while as hostages for the restoration of his father and Sir Nial Garv and Sir Cormac MacBaron much inferior specimens of the human race in the shape of Mr. Beresford, Mr. Rowley, and Sir Richard Hansard. Argosies of portly sail came laden with men and money from sunny Spain and from the far-off Hebrides, the former filled with golden doubloons, and the latter with armed men thirsting for the blood of the British. Such was his dream. He awoke to find the Informer a power in the land, and the prosaic awakening resulted in the execution, amongst others, of Brian Crossagh O'Neill, a priest named Laughlin O'Laverty,

Friar Mullarkey, and Rory Oge O'Cahan, whose last thought no doubt was: "As many men as shall be killed in this service all their souls shall go to Heaven". Alexander MacDonald, it is interesting to note, was acquitted.

Chichester, who had been Lord Deputy for over eleven years, at the suggestion of James now retired from the Viceroyalty (1615), the King giving him the choice of returning to his governorship of Carrickfergus or of repairing to Court, at the same time thanking him for his many and great services, and giving as his reason for the suggested retirement that His Majesty did not wish to overtax the strength of good subjects, or avail himself of their loyalty to the detriment of their health. At the same time the Lord Treasurership of Ireland becoming vacant through the death of the Earl of Ormonde, the King gracefully conferred it upon Baron Chichester of Belfast as a special mark of favour for the manner in which he had conducted himself in his high office as Viceroy.

On Chichester's retirement the Government was placed in the hands of the Lord Chancellor, Archbishop Jones, and the Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Sir John Denham, Chichester himself repairing to England, where it is not unlikely he was from time to time consulted by the King. He has been blamed for the rigour of his rule, and especially for the hostility he displayed to the Roman Catholics. His hanging of Cornelius O'Devany, the aged Bishop of Down and Connor, in 1611, was an atrocious act, and cannot be palliated on any ground whatsoever. The venerable prelate, who was about eighty years of age, was originally a Franciscan friar. He was condemned to death on the nominal charge of having been with Tyrone in Ulster; and at the same time a priest named Patrick O'Loughrane was tried and condemned for having sailed in the same ship with Tyrone and Tirconnell when the Earls took to flight. The severity of the sentence was out of all proportion to the crime, if

crime it were. The prisoners were first to be hanged, then cut down alive, their bowels cast into a fire, and their bodies quartered. When the hangman, who was Irish by birth, heard that the Bishop was condemned, he fled from Dublin (where the execution took place); and, as no other Irishman would undertake the repulsive task, it was found necessary to pardon and release an English murderer, in order that the sentence might be carried out. The Four Masters relate that the venerable prelate, fearing that the harrowing spectacle of his torments might cause the priest to waver, requested the executioner to put O'Loughrane to death first; but the priest assured him that "he need not be in dread on his account, that he would follow him without fear", adding that it was "not meet a bishop should be without a priest to attend him, for the sake of the kingdom of Heaven for his soul". O'Sullivan Beare says the Catholics collected the blood of the victims, whom they justly regarded as martyrs, and the day following the execution they contrived to procure the mangled remains and to inter them in a becoming manner.

Such acts as these were not likely to help the cause of the Reformation, but Chichester hated the Roman Catholics, and desired above all things to "cut off by martial law seminaries, Jesuits, and such hedge priests as have neither goods nor living, and do daily flock hither". He was, no doubt, largely responsible for the famous proclamation in which James ordered the entire population of Ireland to attend church on Sundays and holidays, "according to the tenor and intent of the laws and statutes, upon the pains and penalties contained therein, which he will have from henceforth duly put in execution", and for the orders issued to all "Jesuits, seminary priests, or other priests whatsoever made and ordained by any authority derived or pretended to be derived from the See of Rome" to leave the country or conform.

The fine inflicted on recusants for non-attendance in church was not only galling to them, but was more oppres-

sive from a pecuniary point of view than at first appears to be the case; for while the sum levied each time was only one shilling according to law, it was increased to ten times that amount by the fees always exacted for clerks and officers; and the application of the money so realized to works of charity, as the Act required, was shamefully evaded, it being argued that the poor, being recusants themselves, were not fit to receive the money, but "ought to pay the like penalty themselves".

It must be remembered, however, that Chichester lived in a day when toleration was unknown, when the cruelty of creeds was at its height, and when the hatred of each other which springs from the love of the Deity was the most marked feature of public as well as of private life. In short, Chichester, taken for all and all, was one of the ablest and strongest Viceroys that ever ruled in Ireland, and, had his advice been taken, Ulster might have been spared the upheaval of later years, and much bloodshed been averted.

In the meantime, irregularities and abuses were gradually multiplying among the settlers in Ulster. Some of the undertakers, notwithstanding they were acting contrary to the conditions of their patents, alienated their allotments by private contract; and thus others, by purchase, obtained possession of more lands than the planters were allowed by the King's limitations, which were calculated to prevent the enormous accumulation of property and power that had been held by the Irish chiefs. In the distribution of the lands the King's directions were frequently ignored, so far as they related to provision for the original proprietors, and in consequence the natives were deprived entirely of those territories which it was intended to reserve for them. Thus exposed to the avarice and rapine of "foreign" adventurers, the natives, instead of being conciliated, were hardened in their hatred of English rule—a hate which, increasing with the years, culminated later in rebellion.

CHAPTER XXX

The Closing Years of James's Reign

Sir Oliver St. John appointed Lord Deputy—Chichester accepts Lord Treasurership—St. John's Measures against the Recusants—The Prisons full of the Better Sort of Citizen—St. John's Zeal—He is recalled and created Viscount Grandison—Self-aggrandizement of the Recusants—Henry Cary, Viscount Falkland appointed Lord Deputy—Ussher's Remarkable Sermon—Fateful Measures in connection with the Army—Progress of the Plantation in Ulster—Death of James I.

In August, 1616, Sir Oliver St. John, who had been ten years Master of the Ordnance in Ireland, was appointed Lord Deputy. Before his appointment he had a seat in the Irish Parliament as member for Roscommon, and in the session of 1615 unsuccessfully endeavoured to have Guy Fawkes's day made a religious festival. He was known to be bitterly opposed to Roman Catholicism, and his appointment was looked upon by the recusants as a measure of hostility towards their party, and became the signal for fresh clamours and discontents. He was sworn in on 30th August, after a learned sermon delivered in St. Patrick's Cathedral by the celebrated James Ussher, then Protestant Bishop of Meath, soon after made Archbishop of Armagh. The sermon finished, the Lord Treasurer's white staff was handed to the new Lord Treasurer, Baron Chichester of Belfast, "who with all humility upon his knees received the same".

St. John's first proceedings seemed to justify the apprehensions of the recusants. He began with a vigorous execution of the penal statutes. The seditious practices of the

popish regulars, priests generally educated abroad, and actuated by a determined hostility towards the English Government, had given frequent uneasiness to it, and they had been an oppressive weight upon the poorer classes of the Irish Catholics. Early in the new administration a proclamation appeared, banishing this class of the clergy from Ireland. This was declared to be, especially upon the Continent, an intolerable act of persecution. At this state of things Carew appears to have rejoiced. "God", said he, "I hope will prosper these good beginnings, which tend only to His praise and glory, and to the assurance of obedience unto His Majesty." One result of these good beginnings was that half Ireland was incarcerated.

Worse than this was the case when the magistrates of cities and officers of justice were called upon to take the oath of supremacy, and when, on their refusal, the penalties ordained by the law in such cases were strictly enforced, and it was reported that "over eighty" of the best sort of "citizens" in Dublin and elsewhere were in prison. There was much trouble in the south of Ireland, which affected the north in some measure, inasmuch as all eyes were on the King, watching the extension of his methods of plantation. What was true of the south was equally true with regard to Ulster. The plantation scheme, in being carried into effect, had driven "from their well-established and ancient possession harmless poor natives, encumbered with many children and with no powerful friends". "They have", said a contemporary, "no wealth but flocks and herds, they know no trade but agriculture or pasture, they are unlearned men without human help or protection. Yet," said this warning voice, "though unarmed, they are so active in mind and body that it is dangerous to drive them from their ancestral seats, to forbid them fire and water; thus driving the desperate to revenge, and even the more moderate to thinking of taking arms. They have been deprived of weapons, but are in

a temper to fight with nails and heels and to tear their oppressors with their teeth.

"Necessity gives the greatest strength and courage, nor is there any sharper spear than that of despair. Since these . . . men, and others like them, see themselves excluded from all hopes of restitution or compensation, and are so constituted that they would rather starve upon husks at home than fare sumptuously elsewhere, they will fight for their altars and hearths, and rather seek a bloody death near the sepulchres of their fathers than be buried in unknown earth or inhospitable sand."

In consequence of this system of depriving men of home and hearth, outlaws were on the increase. In the autumn of 1619 the Viceroy reported that 300 outlaws had been killed, most of them doubtless in the hills between Tyrone and Londonderry. St. John also reported that the country was full of "the younger sons of gentlemen, who have no means of living and will not work".

St. John, who had provoked many enemies by the zeal which he displayed in enquiring into irregularities, had now an outcry raised against him from a quarter from which it might be least expected. Some leading members of the State having usurped lands belonging to the Church, the Lord Deputy compelled their restoration, whereupon the guilty parties immediately joined the recusants in attacking St. John. This combined outcry at length induced the King to appoint a commission to inspect the state of Ireland and the irregularities of its administration; and at the urgent intercession of his enemies, who represented that the commission could have no effect while the person into whose conduct enquiry was to be made remained at the head of the Government, St. John was deprived of his office in 1622, and rewarded by the King—who agreed with Bacon, that he was "a man ordained by God to do great good" to Ireland—with the Irish title of Viscount Grandison, and the office of Lord-

Treasurer of that kingdom, and that of a privy councillor in both.

Grandison left Ireland on 4th May, and the Commissioners arrived about the same time. His zeal for the army was such that he frequently called attention to the fact that, though the pay of the soldiers was two years and a half in arrear, the men behaved in an exemplary manner, notwithstanding their sufferings, their "tottered carcasses, lean cheeks, and broken hearts". "I know", he said, "that I shall be followed with a thousand curses and leave behind me an opinion that my unworthiness or want of credit has been the cause of leaving the army in worse state than ever any of my predecessors before have done."

The commission appears to have been, in its result, little better than a nominal one; but the recusants exulted in the recall of Grandison as a signal triumph over the Protestant party, and they began to act with greater independence than ever.

In the towns where their power was greatest they seized upon the churches and celebrated mass in them, and they even began to restore the abbeys. They were, however, obliged to submit to a signal mortification when, on Henry Cary, lately created Viscount Falkland in Scotland, being sent over as Grandison's successor, Ussher preached before the new Lord Deputy a sermon which was virtually a violent diatribe against them. Taking as his text the words of St. Paul: "He beareth not the sword in vain", the Bishop of Meath urged that it was necessary to place some restraint on the Catholics, to deter them from these public outbreaks of insolence and outrage.

This raised further protestations from the recusants, who declared Ussher to be a bloody minister, urging upon the civil chief magistrate the need to persecute and massacre, for the sake of religion, His Majesty's loyal subjects. Ussher's language was condemned by Hampton, the aged Protestant

Primate of Armagh, in language "the mildness of which", says the Rev. Dr. D'Alton, the historian, "was not unworthy of an Apostle"; whereupon Ussher, recognizing the truth of the Primate's reminder to him that his proper weapons were not carnal but spiritual, took the opportunity of a sermon he was called upon to address to an assembly of non-conforming magistrates in Dublin Castle to explain away what he had said about the sword, and stated that he deprecated violence, and "wished that effusion of blood might be held rather the badge of the whore of Babylon than of the Church of God".

"We do good by speaking it," said Walter Savage Landor, and the converse is equally true. Ussher did evil by giving voice to it. The result of his words is seen in the report that at Cavan and Granard, when the Catholics had assembled for worship, Captain Arthur Forbes stated that, unless he knew for certain that the King wished for toleration, he would "make the antiphonie of their mass be sung with sound of musket". At the same time it must be remembered that some priests actually prayed in public for "Philip of Spain our King".

While the general feeling of discontent was thus increasing, James, with singular improvidence, had reduced the army in Ireland to a merely nominal force, and even this was scattered over the country in such small companies as to be useless in case of emergency. Instead of being regularly trained and mustered, the bulk of the army were left to the will of officers who were in many cases not in a position to be responsible for the welfare of their men. Officers who were Irish landlords employed their men in the cultivation of the land or as menial servants in their houses; while the others, who were, as we have seen, left in long arrears of pay, were obliged to connive at the lack of discipline, and the outrages committed by soldiers who also were left unpaid by the State. The prodigality and consequent pecuniary necessities of James forced him thus

to neglect the defences of the Government in Ireland, and the seeming humiliation of the old rebellious septs seemed on the surface to justify his negligence.

Another equally imprudent measure led to future evils of a serious character, and proved at the time the necessity for placing a more efficient force at the disposal of the Government, for it had been pointed out that not more than 750 effective men would be available in case of insurrection. The error was that James, in his eagerness to clear the country, and Ulster especially, of idle swordsmen and landless men, gave permission to such of them as were willing to leave Ireland to enlist in foreign service. By so doing he practically raised an army against himself, for the officers whose services were requisitioned to raise companies of men and conduct them to the Continent were chiefly sons or retainers of old rebel chiefs, and, having followed them into exile, had been educated abroad in exaggerated ideas of the former power and opulence of their forefathers, and in inveterate hatred of all things British.

These officers, to make up their levies, arrived in Ulster early in the summer of 1623, and lost no time in filling up their companies, which was no sooner done than the Government saw the danger of thus placing arms in the hands of old enemies, and became alarmed. When their levies were completed the Irish officers paid no further attention to the orders or limits prescribed to them, but, in defiance of the authorities, ranged through the kingdom, to the great detriment of all and annoyance of lovers of peace and order.

With much insolence they traversed those counties in which their old family connections were most powerful, and allied themselves with the disaffected and discontented, confirming their old sympathies, and carrying away the young to be educated abroad. At the approach of winter, still exhibiting no inclination to embark, they advanced with their men, in separate companies, towards the Pale, burdening

and harassing the country, and causing the greatest alarm to the citizens of Dublin.

An effort was made to collect the forces of the Government, by whom it was arranged, at the eleventh hour, that the number of horse was to be increased from 230 to 400, and of foot from 1450 to 3600. Small companies were sent to secure the outlying counties, and some troops of horse were quartered in Dublin to keep a watch over the Irish companies. At length, after causing no little anxiety, the Irish recruits embarked, and, to the great satisfaction of the Government, left the country.

The plantation in Ulster now proved that many of the inhabitants were tired of disorder. Sir William Jones being made Chief Justice of Ireland, Lord Keeper Bacon advised him to "have special care of the three plantations—that of the North which is in part acted, that of Wexford which is now in distribution, and that of Longford and Leitrim which is now in survey." And added in words already quoted, "take it from me that the bane of a plantation is, when the undertakers or planters make such haste to a little mechanical present profit, as disturbeth the whole frame and nobleness of the work for times to come. Therefore hold them to their covenants, and the strict ordinances of plantation."

A new survey of the planted area was requested by some of the undertakers, because many that formerly "agreed to this . . . plantation now absolutely dislike thereof, and of their proportions assigned to them in lieu of their other possessions taken from them, for that, as they affirm, their proportions assigned are not so many acres as they are rated to them, and because the acres taken from them are far more in number than they be surveyed at. . . ." At the end of 1612, James authorized the Lord Deputy to receive the surrender of the natives and to make "re-grants to such of them as he should think fit such quantities of land and at such rent and upon such conditions as he should think fit".

James I died on the 27th March, 1625. Lauded by some as the British Solomon, he was also called the wisest fool in Christendom. Extremes met in his character, which has been admirably dissected by Sir Walter Scott in *The Fortunes of Nigel.* He was certainly not happy in his government of Ireland, for his rule in that unhappy country consisted largely of wholesale plunder, oppression, and persecution of the Irish. Some of the minor crimes of James's government against the Irish have thus been summed up by Leland, a by no means prejudiced historian: "Extortions and oppressions of the soldiers in various excursions from their quarters, for levying the King's rents, or supporting the civil power; a rigorous and tyrannical execution of martial law in time of peace; a dangerous and unconstitutional power assumed by the Privy Council in deciding causes determinable by common law; the severe treatment of witnesses and jurors in the Castle-chamber, whose evidence or verdicts had been displeasing to the State; the grievous exaction of the established clergy for the occasional duties of their functions; and the severity of the ecclesiastical courts". As to the punishment of jurors, it was laid down as a principle by Chichester that the proper tribunal to punish those who would not find for the Crown on "sufficient evidence" was the Castle, or Star Chamber; sometimes they were "pilloried with loss of ears and bored through the tongue, and sometimes marked on the forehead with a hot iron".

The ordinary principles of justice were set at naught; perjury, fraud, and the most infamous acts of deceit were resorted to; and, as Leland states: "There are not wanting proofs of the most iniquitous practices of hardened cruelty, of vile perjury, and scandalous subornation employed to despoil the fair and unfortunate proprietor of his inheritance".

CHAPTER XXXI

Charles I and the Three Graces

Accession of Charles I—His Financial Difficulties—The Roman Catholics offer a Subsidy—Charles responds with Three Graces—The King's Duplicity—Rampant "Religiosity"—The Protestants protest—Falkland's Proclamation—Treated in Drogheda with Contempt—The Bishop of Derry calls for "A Great Amen"—Falkland recalled—Adam Loftus and Lord Cork appointed Lords Justices—Carmelites in Cook Street—The Archbishop of Dublin and the Mayor on a Ransacking Expedition—The Demolition of St. Patrick's Purgatory—The Lords Justices retire in Favour of Wentworth.

Walt Whitman, one of the most modern of modern men, and one of those least hampered by the fetters of any particular form of faith, has declared, in the most emphatic manner, that nothing is of such importance in human life as religion. In his capacity as seer, he saw "all things burnt up for religion's sake". Hard on the heels of the Reformation, and, indeed, for fully two hundred years later, religion and everything connected therewith seems to have occupied all the waking thoughts of the major portion of Europe. They would willingly have burnt up everything for religion's sake, and did indeed burn a very great number of their fellows, occasionally varying this drastic treatment by misapplying their heads.

In Ireland, where the people are swayed more largely by the emotions than by mental considerations, religion assumed vast proportions. Like the nameless monster in Mrs. Shelley's *Frankenstein*, it stalked through the land, dominating the human heart, not by love but by fear, and

by its merciless methods changed to gall the milk of human kindness.

The prodigality of his father having left Charles I burdened with a heavy debt, and wars with France and Spain demanding supplies which Parliament refused to grant, except on what he considered unreasonable and dishonourable terms, the King was glad to accept from the Irish Catholics a voluntary subsidy of £120,000 for the support of the army, which they offered, at the suggestion of Falkland, at an opportune moment. The sum was to be paid in three annual instalments (afterwards extended to four), and in return the King undertook to grant to the donors certain concessions or immunities which are referred to in the history of the period as "Graces". Many of these "Graces" were applied to Protestants as well as Catholics. The more important were those which provided "that recusants should be allowed to practise in the courts of law, and to sue out the livery of their lands on taking an oath of civil allegiance instead of the oath of supremacy; that the undertakers in the several plantations should have time allowed them to fulfil the conditions of their tenures, and that the claims of the crown should be limited to the last sixty years".

The contract was duly ratified by royal proclamation, in which the concessions were accompanied by a promise that a Parliament should be held to confirm them; but when the Catholics pressed for the fulfilment of the compact, the essential formalities for calling an Irish Parliament were found to have been omitted by the officials, the provisions of Poynings' Act not having been complied with; and thus, for the moment, the matter fell to the ground.

The Roman Catholic clergy were now doubly active in preaching opposition, and a bull of the Pope was promulgated, exhorting the people to lay down their lives rather than submit to the oath of supremacy, which oath was repre-

sented as an impious act, that would draw upon those who took it the vengeance of heaven.

The Government, alarmed by the dangerous aspect of things, induced Charles to raise the military force in Ireland to 5000 foot and 500 horse, which the King—his poverty but not his will consenting—ordered, by the exercise of his prerogative, to be quartered on the different counties and towns of Ireland, to be maintained by them in turn with money, clothes, and provisions, for three months at a time.

Religion was now rampant, and the Protestant party, coming to the conclusion that Charles's marriage with Henrietta Maria, a Roman Catholic princess, meant immediate danger to themselves, called a meeting of some dozen prelates, with Ussher the Primate in the chair, and drew up a formal protest, in which they declared that: "The religion of the Papists is superstitious and idolatrous, their faith and doctrine, erroneous and heretical; their Church, in respect of both apostatical. To give them, therefore, a toleration, or to consent that they may freely exercise their religion and profess their faith and doctrine, is a grievous sin, and that in two respects; for, first, it is to make ourselves accessary not only to their superstitions, idolatries, and heresies, and, in a word, to all the abominations of Popery, but also (which is a consequence of the former) to the perdition of the seduced people, which perish in the deluge of the Catholic apostacy. Secondly to grant them a toleration, in respect of any money to be given, or contribution to be made by them, is to set religion to sale, and with it the souls of the people whom Christ hath redeemed with his blood. And as it is a great sin, so it is also a matter of most dangerous consequence: the consideration whereof we commit to the wise and judicious, beseeching the God of truth to make them who are in authority zealous of God's glory, and of the advancement of true religion, zealous, resolute, and courageous against all popery, superstition, and idolatry."

There is little doubt that Falkland did actually issue writs for the calling of an Irish Parliament, for it appears that some elections took place; but it was necessary, before holding a Parliament in Ireland, to obtain the King's licence under the Great Seal of England, and this requirement Falkland by some unaccountable oversight omitted. This omission might have been rectified by the King if he had been sincere in his intentions that the Graces which he had sold for money should be binding upon him. But, instead of doing so, Charles allowed his Privy Council to pronounce the summons issued by Falkland illegal and void; no Parliament was held, while the Irish nobility and gentry complained that even the purely administrative part of the Graces had not been acted upon.

The Graces, however, were not withdrawn; but while the Irish Catholics enjoyed a period of comparative toleration and indulgence to which they had not for long been accustomed, they were left in a state of suspense, buoyed up with the belief that a Parliament would eventually be held to confirm the granting of the Graces; and they therefore cheerfully submitted to the heavy monetary consideration by which the said Graces had been purchased.

In the bitterness of religious and political opposition, each party, as it felt or imagined itself the stronger, hurried into excesses which injured its own cause while they aroused the anger of the opposition. The Roman Catholic clergy were now rapidly increasing in numbers, and, alas! were also becoming noticeably violent in deeds as well as words. The recusants were led by priests educated almost entirely on the Continent, in seminaries in which bitter hatred of English Protestants was inculcated, and they were impatient to show, in this respect, the faith that was in them.

The Catholics now seized upon some of the old churches and reconsecrated them; began to establish religious houses; exercised a rigorous ecclesiastical authority; and even founded

in Dublin, under the rule of a Catholic ecclesiastic of some celebrity, a school for the education of priests.

Falkland's administration was tentative and hesitating, but the language and actions of the recusants at length aroused him from his apparent supineness. Urged to activity against the religious orders in Ireland, not alone by the English Government, but also by the Irish Council, and egged on by the clamours of the Protestant clergy, he published hastily a proclamation, stating that "the late intermission of legal proceedings against Popish pretended titular archbishops, bishops, abbots, deans, vicars-general, Jesuits, friars and others, deriving their pretended authority from the See of Rome, in contempt of His Majesty's royal power and authority, had bred such an extravagant insolence and presumption in them, that" he was obliged to charge and command them in His Majesty's name, "to forbear the exercise of their Popish rites and ceremonies".

This proclamation was received with becoming respect in Dublin, but in Drogheda it was treated with contempt, "a drunken soldier being first set up to read it, and then a drunken serjeant of the town, both being made, by too much drink, incapable of that task, and perhaps purposely put to it, made the same seem like a May game". Such proceedings must have got to the ears of Ussher, who resided in Drogheda; but, whether or no, the Primate had the mortification of knowing that despite the Proclamation, to which he was a party, mass was still celebrated in Drogheda and the surrounding country as regularly, if not quite so openly, as it used to be.

George Downham, Bishop of Londonderry, now took up the cudgels. A Cambridge man, and a strong Calvinist, he preached at Christ Church, Dublin, before the Lord Deputy and Council, taking the opportunity to read aloud the Protest of the Prelates, and emphasizing the pronouncements that "the religion of the Papists is superstitious and heretical",

and "to grant them toleration in respect of any money to be given or contribution to be made by them is to set religion to sale and with it the souls of the people". Having given an impressive and sonorous rendering of these passages, the preacher called upon his audience to say "Amen", and "suddenly the whole church almost shaked with the great sound their loud 'Amens' made".

The sound of this great Amen was followed in Christ Church, the Sunday following, by the sound of Ussher's voice in a dissertation on Judas and the thirty pieces of silver. "We are", said the Primate, "now at odds with two of the most potent princes in Christendom; to both which in former times the discontented persons in Ireland have had recourse heretofore, proffering the Kingdom itself to them, if they would undertake the conquest of it." Nor had the recent plantations, in Ussher's eyes, much improved matters, for new planters had been brought into the land, and the old inhabitants had been left "to shift for themselves".

Many charges were now brought against Falkland, who was an unpopular man; but as these do not enter into a history of Ulster, we need not concern ourselves with them. Suffice it to say that the Lord Deputy cleared himself and left the court without a stain upon his character. Charles, however, deemed it advisable to recall the Viceroy, and the government of Ireland was left in the hands of Adam Loftus, Viscount Ely, the Irish Lord Chancellor, and Richard, Earl of Cork, who then held the office of Lord High Treasurer of Ireland. The army was placed in the hands of Lord Wilmot.

The Lords Justices were at daggers drawn, and a formal reconciliation was therefore imperative and forthwith took place in the presence of Wilmot; Cork piously expressing his desire that the bond of friendship might endure, saying: "I beseech God his lordship observe it as religiously as I resolve to do, if new provocations enforce me not to alter my resolutions".

No sooner had they assumed the reigns of government than the Lords Justices discovered that they had at least one desire in common, one thing was certain and the rest was lies, that toleration of recusants was a mistaken kindness, and they proceeded to put in force many old laws, especially a statute of Elizabeth that made attendance on Sundays and holidays obligatory on all, Catholic and Protestant alike. It must be noted, however, that the instructions issued to the Lords Justices enjoined upon them the necessity to take active measures to suppress all Popish religious houses and all foreign jurisdictions, and to persuade the army and all civilians to attend church.

To these instructions the Lords Justices paid careful attention, their efforts to carry them into effect being zealously aided and abetted by the ecclesiastical authorities, as we can see from a note in Lord Cork's diary in which he jotted down the fact that "the Archbishop of Dublin and the Mayor of Dublin, by the direction of us the Lords Justices, ransacked the house of friars in Cook Street". It is interesting to note that the Lords Justices were "attending divine service at Christ Church" on St. Stephen's Day, 1629, when intelligence was brought to them that a fraternity of Carmelites were publicly celebrating their religious rites, in the habits of their order, "in a part of Dublin called Cook Street".

Believing, with Sir Matthew Hale, that "a Sabbath well spent brings a week of content", the Archbishop of Dublin, with the chief magistrate of the city, proceeded to Cook Street at the head of a file of musketeers, and, entering the chapel during the celebration of High Mass, they seized the priest in his vestments, and carried away all the sacred utensils and Popish ornaments. The congregation, alarmed, at first sought safety in flight, but on second thoughts some returned to the scene of the "ransacking", and succeeded in rescuing the priest. A mob, now grown to nearly 3000 strong, proved too many for the file of musketeers; stones

were thrown, and Archbishop Bulkeley was glad to forfeit his collection of "Popish ornaments" and take refuge in a neighbouring dwelling. The Lords Justices, having undertaken a Sabbath day's journey, now appeared with their guard, but there were not soldiers enough to act with effect, and Lord Wilmot, to his regret, found there was not a pound of gunpowder in Dublin Castle. The friary building was, however, demolished, in the presence of several recusant aldermen, who left the scene in high dudgeon, and later were arrested for not assisting the Mayor.

The English Privy Council expressed their approval of what had been done, and sixteen monastic houses were seized to the King's use, the Council recommending that they should be turned into "houses of correction, and to set the people on work or to other public uses, for the advancement of justice, good arts, or trades". The Jesuit church and college in Back Lane, Dublin, were annexed to Trinity College, and the former was for some time used as a lecture-room.

Attention was now drawn to St. Patrick's Purgatory, on Lough Derg, in Donegal, to which thousands of pilgrims repaired annually. This sacred spot was situated in the territory of Miler Magrath, and was now held by James Magrath, a son of the Archbishop of Cashel. Disagree as they might on minor matters, the Lords Justices were unanimous with regard to this shrine of iniquity, and accordingly they bound the owner, in a penalty of £1000, "to pull down and utterly demolish that monster of fame called St. Patrick's Purgatory, with St. Patrick's bed, and all the vaults, cells, and all other houses and buildings, and to have all the other superstitious stones and materials cast into the Lough, and that he should suffer the superstitious chapel in the island to be pulled down to the ground, and no boat to be there, nor pilgrimage used or frequented during James Magrath's life willingly or wittingly".

The government of the Lords Justices thus presented a ceaseless contest between Roman Catholics and Protestants, and tended not a little to embitter their feelings of animosity. But the time now approached when the King's necessities and his designs called for an even more resolute and arbitrary policy, and, having held the government from 1629 to 1633, they gave it up, in the beginning of the latter year, to one of the most remarkable men to whom it had ever been entrusted —Thomas, Lord Wentworth.

CHAPTER XXXII

"Like Master, like Man"

Ulster now a Province without a History—Charles and his Parliaments—Wentworth appointed Lord Deputy—He repairs to Ireland twelve months later—Disgraceful Evasion of the Graces—Wentworth's Efforts to raise Money—His Treatment of the Privy Council—He proposes to call a Parliament—His Secretive Methods—Lord Fingall rebuffed—The Sentiments of a Solitary Man.

The history of Ulster is not necessarily confined within the limits of the area known by that name. The history of Ireland, as we have already pointed out, is the history of each of the four provinces; but it must be admitted that of the four provinces, even when geographically considered, Ulster has the most imposing record of stirring events, and Connaught the least. This, no doubt, springs from the fact that Connaught's seaboard is on the broad Atlantic, "perilous seas" to the small craft of bygone days; while the shores of Antrim and Down and Derry, with their landlocked harbours of Loughs Foyle and Swilly, with what is now known as Belfast Lough and Carlingford Lough, made safe ridings for the ships of all nations, and especially for those manned by the Scots, who spoke in a tongue closely allied to that of the Irish.

The upheavals in Ulster in James's reign had the result of making Ulster in the reign of Charles a province without a history. Ulster was too busy settling down and becoming reconciled to the new state of things; but she was nevertheless but a slumbering volcano, soon to burst forth into torrential life, and thus make up for years of seeming sleep. At the moment, however, Ulster was dormant.

In the meanwhile England was wide-awake. Charles, having inherited many difficulties and embarrassments through his father's misrule, had entered upon a policy of coercion, and had provoked thereby a stern spirit of resistance. Two Parliaments, on account of the courage with which they had opposed the encroachments of the Crown, had, without passing a law or granting a subsidy, been dissolved, and the King, to supply his necessities, had had recourse to unconstitutional measures.

A third Parliament had forced from Charles the Petition of Right; but it also, on account of its want of subserviency, had been dissolved, the King announcing his intention of governing by prerogative, and never again embarrassing himself by appeals to Parliament. The spirit of resistance now spread over the whole island, and the agitation which manifested itself so violently in England could not fail to find its echo in Ireland.

Charles now came to the conclusion that some of the Graces interfered with the free exercise of his prerogative, and he resolved that they should not be confirmed. He determined, in addition, not only to discard the Graces, but to extort the continuation of the promised subsidy, and to reduce Ireland to a more close conformity to England. Various circumstances encouraged him in the design of trying the experiment in Ireland of carrying the exercise of the prerogative to a greater extent than he could hope at first to succeed in doing in England, and for this purpose he required a minister of stern, not to say unscrupulous, character, who would be nothing daunted by difficulties or by danger. Such a minister Charles found in Thomas, Viscount Wentworth.

Although the King's intention was known for some time previously, the appointment of Wentworth did not take place until the beginning of 1632, when, in making the announcement, Charles requested a detailed statement from the Lords

Justices of receipts and expenditure, and also one regarding the state of the army. Lord Wilmot replied to the latter request by stating that the army consisted of 2000 horse and 400 foot, distributed in companies of 50. He also gave it as his opinion that it would be dangerous to reduce this small force, for, "such as they are, they give countenance unto justice itself, and are the only comfort that the poor English undertakers live by, and at this hour the King's revenues are not timely brought in but by force of soldiers . . . out of long experience I have seen these people are ready to take the bit in their teeth upon all advantages, as any people living, although they pay for it, as many times as they have done before, with all they are worth".

Although appointed Lord Deputy early in 1632, the beginning of 1633 did not find Wentworth in Ireland; but with the new year, a certain Mistress Rhodes arrived mysteriously and took up her quarters in Dublin Castle, no title or place being given her until midsummer brought the Deputy, whereupon she took her place by his side as his wife, and was saluted with a kiss by each of the Lords Justices when she was presented to them.

The new ruler of Ireland came with a firm resolve to establish the principles of government of Charles, and be an exponent of the ecclesiastical maxims of Archbishop Laud. He was given unusually extensive powers, and made an express stipulation that no appeal from his judgment should be admitted by the English courts. His chief object was, however, to make Ireland do what she had never yet done—give pecuniary assistance to the English Crown.

The new methods by which the country was to be governed may be gathered from the reply sent by the King upon learning that the Council had informed the Lord Treasurer "that all sorts of men, as well British as natives, had so far declared averseness and impatience in the payment of the contributions toward the payment of the army,

and resolution to withstand the continuance thereof without respect to any consequence, or opening ear to any persuasions, that they conceived it a work impossible and beyond any industry to continue those levies longer than the three subsidies are in paying, without much hazard and danger to the State and peace of the King's affairs there".

Charles declared such a statement to be "very strange", and added, "nevertheless we may and do still justly hope for better endeavours and affections, as well from you our ministers, as from our subjects there in general, especially considering that our army is, as you write, not at all as formerly burdensome unto them, that they enjoy in a large manner the protection and care of our just and peaceable government, and that they have largely tasted of our acts of Grace and bounty when the Agents last attended us about the affairs of that kingdom, and ever since".

This was the first direct intimation that Charles now determined to look upon the Graces as merely temporary concessions, and it is coupled with the threat of treating them as such. "But seeing you conceive there is so much difficulty in the settlement of the payments, and considering the small hopes you mention in your letters of further improvement there, we must be constrained, if they be not freely and thankfully continued, *to streighten* our former Graces vouchsafed during those contributions, and make use more strictly of our legal rights and profits".

And further to terrorize the Roman Catholics, from whom naturally he expected most opposition, the King announced his intention to rigorously enforce the obnoxious fine for irregular attendance at church. "We approve", wrote His Majesty, "that this business may be presently put into such a state, as that the monies which shall by that means grow due unto us may be ready to be levied by Michaelmas next, albeit we are purposed for the present in this also to follow your counsel, and not to levy or seize any man's goods for

the duty before the said subsidies be determined. And as the best and surest way to bring this business to effect, we do hereby authorize and require you forthwith to assemble our Council there, and with their privity to cause presentments to be duly made through the whole kingdom, according as the law you maintain doth appoint, which we expect shall be finished by the going over of our deputy, who shall be fully instructed to make use and proceed therein according as we shall by that time resolve upon."

Wentworth arrived in Dublin on 23rd July, and two days later was handed the sword in the Council Chamber, Cork declaring: "I for my part did most willing surrender the sword, the rather in regard the kingdom was yielded up in general peace and plenty". The new Deputy's opinion of his subordinates was not flattering. "I find them in this place", he reported, "a company of men the most intent upon their own hands that ever I met with, and so as those speed, they consider other things at a very great distance." The Viceroy was determined that the "great revenue, which His Majesty's affairs cannot subsist without", should be continued, and he was fully prepared, if he found any "wanton and saucy boldness", to deal severely with the recusants, and, if necessary, "lay it on them soundly".

Having been in office for seven days, Wentworth summoned the Council to consider how money could be raised for the payment of the army; when it was proposed by Sir Adam Loftus, of Rathfarnham, that the voluntary contribution should be continued for another twelve months. The Deputy then asked Sir William Parsons, the Master of the Wards (whom he found to be "the driest of all the company"), for an expression of opinion. Sir William's reply proving to be particularly arid and unsatisfactory to the Viceroy, he determined to adopt his royal master's methods, "which was plainly to declare that there was no necessity which induced me to take them to council in this business,

for rather than fail in so necessary a duty to my master, I would undertake upon the peril of my head to make the King's army able to subsist, and to provide for itself amongst them without their help". At the same time he suggested a Parliament, not only for supply, but for the settlement of disputed titles, and for this all expressed their desire. "They are so terribly afraid", wrote Wentworth, "that the contribution money should be set as an annual charge upon their inheritances, as they would redeem it at any rate, so as, upon the name of a Parliament thus proposed, it was something strange to see how instantly they gave consent to this proposition, with all the cheerfulness possible. . . ."

There were many reasons in favour of calling a Parliament at this moment. But the one which weighed the most with Wentworth was the prospect of obtaining an equivalent for the voluntary contribution and an increase in the revenue. He had secured the contribution until the end of the year 1634 (which was now commencing), and he calculated that, by calling the Parliament in Easter or Trinity term, now approaching, the Crown had its Irish revenue secured for some months, in case the legislative body should prove unruly, and thus he would have time to lay down plans for the future.

As Wentworth did not consider it expedient to permit an unconditional confirmation of the Graces, many of which were now held to be not sufficiently advantageous to the prerogative, he proposed to the King that the Parliament should be divided into two sessions, one of which, held immediately on its assembling, was to be occupied only with the question of supplies, and the second, to be held in the following winter, for considering the other business of the State.

This was Charles's favourite method in dealing with his English Parliaments, and he therefore fully approved of it as applied to Ireland, but urged that the plan should be kept secret until the supplies were obtained, so that the Parliament

might be induced more readily to hasten over such preliminaries in order to proceed with their grievances.

Charles's opinion of Parliaments is well known, but of his duplicity there is no better evidence than that contained in his private letter to Wentworth, in which, writing about the proposed Parliament in Dublin, he says: "As for that hydra, take good heed; for you know, that here I have found it as well cunning as malicious. It is true that your grounds are well laid, and I assure you that I have a great trust in your care and judgment; yet my opinion is, that it will not be worse for my service, though their obstinacy make you break them, for *I fear that they have some ground to demand more than it is fit for me to give.*"

Lords and Commons being alike interested in the holding of the proposed Parliament, and there being an unprecedented mystery with regard to it, all parties commenced to agitate, and the Privy Council began to discuss the question of supplies and subsidies, asking at the same time to be enlightened as to the nature of the Bills which were to be brought forward; whereupon they were silenced "by a direct and round answer" to mind their own business and leave everything to the King.

Lord Fingall, who called at the Castle a little later for information on the same subject, the Lords having "been accustomed to be consulted before those meetings", fared no better, for his lordship received "a quick answer" to the effect that "His Majesty might judge it, with some more reason, a high presumption in him or any other private man to elect themselves inquisitors over his gracious purposes towards his subjects. . . ." Whereupon Fingall, "a little out of countenance" at this new aspect of affairs, excused himself by saying that he merely called to remind the Lord Deputy of former practice in such circumstances, and that Lord Falkland had summoned the Lords of the Pale in like case. "My answer", said Wentworth, "was, my lord of

Falkland should be no rule in this for me, much less than for my great master, to follow; that I advised his lordship, therefore, not to busy his thoughts with matters of this nature, but leaving them to the King and such as he should please to entrust therewith, to rest assured he should in convenient time be acquainted with as much of His Majesty's resolutions as should be fit for him to know, wherewithal he either ought or must rest satisfied; so we parted."

Wentworth now set himself to securing a majority; every important man whom he could influence found his way into the House of Commons. Sir William Parsons sat for the county, and Sir George Radcliffe, the Deputy's cousin, for the city of Armagh, and Captain Charles Price sat for Belfast. Then, as now, "the priests and Jesuits" were "very busy in the election of knights and burgesses", calling "the people to their masses", and there charging "them on pain of excommunication to give their voices to no Protestant". When the elections were over it was found that the Viceroy's exertions had not been in vain, and that a House of Commons had been returned in which the Crown had a considerable majority.

Thus, in spite of all opposition, Wentworth had his way. Half his strength lay in his secretiveness, for he deemed nothing "more prejudicial to the good success of these affairs than their being understood aforehand by them here. So prejudicial I hold it indeed, that on my faith there is not a minister on this side who knows anything I either write or intend, excepting the Master of the Rolls and Sir George Radcliffe, for whose assistance in this government and comfort to myself amidst this generation I am not able sufficiently to pour forth my humble acknowledgments to His Majesty. Sure I were the most solitary man without them that ever served a King in such a place."

CHAPTER XXXIII

The Wiles of Wentworth

Parliament meets "with Civility and Splendour"—Sergeant Catlin elected Speaker—The Parties well balanced—Sir Thomas Bramston of Belfast unseated—The Earl of Ormonde refuses to part with his Sword—He is elected a Privy Councillor—The Lords confounded by Poynings' Act—The Graces discussed—Wentworth intervenes—The Graces withheld—The Catholics indignant—The King and Viceroy victorious.

The Irish Parliament met on Monday, the 14th July, 1634, "with", wrote Wentworth, "the greatest civility and splendour Ireland ever saw, where appeared a very gallant nobility far above that I expected". The Lord Deputy, the officers of State, and representatives of both Houses proceeded on that summer morning to St. Patrick's Cathedral, where "my Lord Primate made a very excellent and learned sermon".

On Tuesday morning the two Houses were called together, and Wentworth addressed them in a long speech, in which he told them that the King expected from them £100,000 a year constant and standing revenue, for the payment of the army, and informed them, that "His Majesty intended to have two sessions of this Parliament, the one for himself, the other for them; so as, if they without condition supplied the King this, they might be sure His Majesty would go along with them in the next meeting".

"Take heed", said Wentworth, in what he called his mildest manner, "of private meetings and consults in your chambers, by design and privity aforehand to contrive, how to discourse and carry the public affairs when you come into

the Houses. For besides that they are themselves unlawful, and punishable in a grievous measure, I never knew them in all my experience to do any good to the public or to any particular man; I have often known them do much harm."

Having discharged this duty, the Lord Deputy directed the Lord Chancellor to see that the members assembled in the House for the election of a Speaker, "who was to be presented . . . the next morning by nine of the clock", and "understanding that there was a muttering amongst them of rejecting the Recorder of this town", to wit Sergeant Catlin, Wentworth reminded them of the contention regarding the rival claims of Everard and Davies, "in the first act of a House of Commons", and in the end Catlin became Speaker without a contest, was knighted at the end of the Parliament, and received £1600 for his services.

On Thursday, the 17th, the House of Commons proceeded to business. The question of undisputed elections was then brought forward, and the recusant party moved for what they termed the purging of the House, by which they hoped to unseat a number of the Protestant members, and so obtain a majority of Roman Catholics. In the motion for a Committee of Privileges, which resulted from this debate, and in which the Catholics went to a man on one side, and the Protestants on the other, it was found that the latter were in a majority of eight. "Having very happily", wrote the pleased Viceroy, "in this trivial question discovered the strength of both parties, and being very glad to find them so even weighed, I confess I now grew very confident (upon the former judgment I had made of this meeting) to carry the business, and so resolved to move the King's supply the next day".

In connection with the proposal to purge the House, it is interesting to note that "Sir Thomas Bramston who as sovereign of Belfast had returned himself, was declared not

duly elected, and ordered to refund £16 which he had received as wages".

Next day the question of supplies was brought regularly before the House of Commons, which, as Wentworth anticipated, granted all that was asked of them without the slightest show of reluctance. The whole business was settled before twelve o'clock noon, and Wentworth sums up what followed in the statement that "the rest of this session we have entertained and spun them out in discourses, but kept them nevertheless from concluding anything, yet have finished within the first limited time". The session was strictly limited by the King's commands to three weeks.

The opposition was much stronger in the Upper House, where several of the great Anglo-Irish lords showed an inclination to resent the scornful treatment they received at the hands of the Deputy. Wentworth had revived an old order of Chichester's which prohibited the members from wearing swords when entering their respective Houses; and when the Earl of Ormonde, who had just come of age, presented himself, Black Rod demanded his sword, which the Earl refused to part with. On the demand being repeated in a rude and peremptory manner, Ormonde brushed past the official, saying: "If you ever receive *my* sword, it will be in your guts", with which the Earl proceeded to his seat, in which he sat armed during the entire proceedings.

The Lord Deputy was much annoyed by this exhibition of freedom from his control, and he therefore summoned Ormonde before the Council to answer for his disobedience. The Earl appeared without hesitation, admitted that he had acted as he had, and expressed no regret for his conduct, for, he said, at his investiture he had received his earldom *per cincturam gladii*, by the girding on of the sword, and therefore he was not only entitled, but bound by the King's command, to attend to his parliamentary duties *gladio cinctus*. This Wentworth recognized to be the case, but he chafed

under the independence shown by Ormonde, and determined if he could to crush him. Having consulted Wandesford and Radcliffe, opinions being divided, he decided that the better course would be to cultivate the friendship of a young man of such spirit, and won Ormonde's support by making him, at the early age of four-and-twenty, a Privy Councillor.

The scornful manner which Wentworth adopted to the Irish lords increased the opposition in the Upper House, where his measures were criticized with severity. The peers complained loudly of public grievances, pressed for the fulfilment of the royal promise for the confirmation of the Graces in a manner which was particularly offensive to the Viceroy, and were especially urgent for the establishment of the King's claims on their lands to a retrospect of sixty years.

This question was very embarrassing to both Charles and his faithful Deputy, for both were secretly contemplating new and extensive schemes of confiscation. Not satisfied even with making this demand, the lords drew up several laws, which they deemed necessary for the public good, and, after warmly debating upon them, they ordered the Attorney-General to draw them up into formal Acts, for transmission to England.

This, of course, was contrary to Poynings' Act, now found to be an instrument of extraordinary power in the hands of the Crown, and Wentworth, therefore, was not inclined to countenance any breach of it. Nevertheless, with serenity arising from the knowledge of his own supreme power, and foreseeing the fate of any measures they might frame, he regarded with complacency the spectacle of their bustle and debate, until the last day of the session, when, having watched for some time, ("alas, regardless of their doom the little victims play"), he informed the lords that all their labours had been in vain, and entered a formal protest against the Acts they had passed as being annulled

by the non-observance of the Statute of Poynings. "There cannot be anything invaded", said Wentworth to Secretary Coke, "which in reason of state ought to be by His Majesty's Deputy preserved with a more hallowed care than Poynings' Act, and which I shall never willingly suffer to be touched or blemished, more than my right eye."

Amongst other matters, the Commons called attention to the fact that titles in Ireland were generally uncertain, many documents having been lost or stolen during rude and disturbed times, and others being defective through the ignorance of those who drew or engrossed them; "whereof divers indigent persons, with eagle eyes piercing thereinto commonly took advantage to the utter overthrow of many noble and deserving persons, that for the valuable consideration of service unto the Crown, or money, or both, honourably and fairly acquired their estates, which is the principal cause of the slow improving planting and building in this land".

Referring to the sixty years' limit for title to land, the Commons, led by Fingall and Ranelagh, complained that this Grace had been "particularly promised by His Majesty, approved by both the Councils of State of England and Ireland, and published in all the Irish counties at the assizes, and was most expected of all the other Graces".

The Lord Deputy allowed this to pass until the supplies were secured, when he assumed a higher and more arbitrary tone on the subject of the Graces. He again effected his object by combining cajolery with a celerity of action which dumbfounded his victims by confusing the issues. The Privy Council had been raised by Wentworth into an instrument under his control, which, skilfully manipulated, created a barrier between the King and the Parliament; and now, having first sounded one or two of the members of the Council, he suddenly called them all together, and coerced them into passing a resolution that a number of Graces,

and particularly that of sixty years' possession, were inconsistent with the interests of the Crown; and the Council, swept out of their depth by a torrent of words, or hypnotized by the undoubtedly magnetic personality of the Viceroy, not only decided that the Graces should not be confirmed by Parliament, but actually drew up a petition to the King, framed, of course, by Wentworth, expressing their general and particular scruples, and praying that a great number of the Graces might be annulled. "And so", said the victorious and jubilant Viceroy, "putting in ourselves betwixt them (the Parliament) and His Majesty's pretended engagement, we take the hard part wholly from His Majesty and bear it ourselves, as well as we may, and yet no way conclude His Majesty to apply all the grace to himself, which yet I trust he will not enlarge further than stands with wisdom, reason, and the prosperity of his own affairs".

Charles wrote a personal letter of thanks to his good and faithful servant, saying: "Before I answer any of your particular letters to me, I must tell you that your last public dispatch has given me a great deal of contentment, and especially for keeping of the envy of a necessary negative from me, of those unreasonable Graces that that people expected of me".

Thus was completed an act of political fraud and treachery which casts disgrace upon the memory of monarch and minister alike. Whatever the character or utility of the Graces themselves may have been, Charles deliberately sold them to the Irish in consideration of a large sum of money; he deceitfully put off the necessary confirmation until the time arrived for the payment of the final instalment of the sum for which he sold them; he then induced his Irish subjects by further promises of confirmation to give him further sums of money; and when he could no longer temporize, he flagrantly ignored the Irish, and deliberately repudiated his many promises to them. Rumours that the

Graces, notwithstanding the high price paid for them, would be withheld, soon spread; and when, on the 4th of November, Parliament again assembled after three months' recess, the members were in no mood to be trifled with. On the 27th the Lord Deputy announced that he and the Council had resolved that the more important Graces would not be confirmed. This unexpected declaration irritated the recusants, who, by Protestant abstention being in the majority on this occasion, exhibited their sense of the injustice with which they had been treated by rejecting every Bill presented to them, even when they proved to be harmless and useful measures.

The Lord Deputy was wroth. "Had it continued two days in that state," he declared, "I had certainly adjourned the House, advertised over, and craven His Majesty's judgment." He determined to call public attention to the conduct of the absentees, and going to the House of Lords he said: "I told them what a shame it was for the Protestant party, that were in number the greater, to suffer their religion to be insensibly supplanted, His Majesty in some degree disregarded, the good ordinances transmitted for their future peace and good government to be thus disdainfully trodden under foot by a company of wilful, insolent people, envious both to their religion and to their peace, and all this for want of a few days' diligent attendance upon the service of the public".

Notwithstanding all this dislocation of business a number of Acts of considerable importance for the reform of civil government and amelioration of the state of the country were passed, and the more valuable laws of the English statute-book were adopted in Ireland.

On the whole, Wentworth was so well satisfied with this Parliament that he desired to continue it by prorogation. The King, however, had taken an unconquerable dislike to Parliaments, and was decidedly averse to his doing so. "My reasons", wrote Charles, "are grounded upon my experience

of them here. They are of the nature of cats; they ever grow curst with age, so that if ye will have good of them put them off handsomely when they come to any age, for young ones are ever most tractable. And in earnest you will find that nothing can more conduce to the beginning of a new one than the well-ending of the former Parliament; wherefore, now that we are well, let us content ourselves therewith."

CHAPTER XXXIV

The Scottish Scare

Introduction of the Linen Industry into Ulster—The Scottish Covenanters—Sympathy with them in Ulster—The Earl of Antrim's Proposals—Fears of a Scottish Invasion—The "Black Oath"—The Lord Deputy depletes Derry—A New Parliament votes Generous Supplies—Declarations of Loyalty—Wentworth rewarded with the Earldom of Strafford—He raises an Irish Army—His Good Opinion of the Irish People.

Many of the acts of Wentworth, our attention being devoted to Ulster, do not concern us. His methods of government, being applied to the whole country, have been dwelt upon on account of their affecting Ulster as well as the other provinces, and as showing the general trend of events.

In one particular Wentworth's actions greatly influenced the well-being of the northern province: he introduced "the making and trade of linen cloth", "the rather", he wrote, "in regard the women are all naturally bred to spinning, that the Irish earth is apt for bearing of flax, and that this manufacture would be in the conclusion rather a benefit than other to this kingdom. I have, therefore," he adds, "sent for the flax seed into Holland, being of a better sort than we have any, sown this year a thousand pounds' worth of it (finding by some I sowed last year that it takes there very well); I have sent for workmen out of the Low Countries and forth of France, and set up already six or seven looms, which if it please God to bless us this year, I trust so to invite them to follow it, when they see the great profit arising thereby, as that they shall generally take to it, and employ themselves

that way, which if they do, I am confident it will prove a mighty business, considering that in all probability we shall be able to undersell the linen cloths of Holland and France at least twenty in the hundred." Thus Ulster owes to the government of Wentworth the establishment of one of her most important manufactures, the Deputy himself contributing £30,000 out of his private fortune towards the experiment.

Such were the arts of Peace in Ulster, the arts of War were soon to be displayed. It will be remembered that Chichester, in a desperate attempt to clear the country of idle swordsmen and youths who would not work, shipped them away to Sweden, and that later, in James's time, recruiting in Ireland by rulers on the Continent was permitted. The evil results of this laxity were now evident. The descendants of the old native Irish chiefs, now men of broken fortunes and ready to follow any desperate courses that held out hopes of recovering them, conspired together, and communicated with their kinsmen serving in the armies of Sweden, Spain, and elsewhere.

Wentworth, from the day he was appointed Lord Deputy, had looked with alarm at the policy of the preceding reign, and he more than once expressed his belief that the men who thus in foreign warfare became experienced soldiers would one day return to be dangerous enemies at home. Intelligence reached him of some Irish "that nest themselves in Flanders", who "hold intelligence and correspondence with their countrymen in Ulster, and continually practise and plot their return by arms".

The troubles in Scotland at this time (1638), caused by attempts to enforce uniformity in religious doctrines, produced much agitation in Ulster, which contained a large proportion of Scots. It was commonly reported in England that the Scots in Ulster amounted to 40,000, and that they were in close communication with their brethren in Scotland,

and were prepared to support them in their resistance to Charles's plan of forcing English church government on his northern subjects.

The extent of this agitation may be gathered from a letter written to Wentworth on the 18th of October, 1638, by Henry Leslie, Bishop of Down, in which the writer says: "Since His Majesty hath been pleased to condescend so far unto them in Scotland by his last proclamation, against which, notwithstanding, they have protested, there is such insulting amongst them here, that they make me weary of my life. . . . My officers have been lately beaten in open court. . . . They do threaten me for my life; but, by the grace of God, all their brags shall never make me faint in doing service to God and the King."

The Lord Deputy could not fail to be alarmed at the agitation in Ulster, and his uneasiness was now increased by an appeal for arms from a hot-headed, irresponsible nobleman. In the last rebellion in the north the Scottish-Hibernian clan of the MacDonnells, or MacDonalds, had rendered considerable service to the Crown, and, as we have seen, their chief, Randal MacSorley MacDonald, in recognition of these services, had been granted large tracts of forfeited lands in Ulster, had been created Viscount Dunluce by James, and, later, was raised by Charles to the Earldom of Antrim. The son of this chief, also a Randal, was on his father's side a descendant of the famous Sorley Boy, and he was a grandson of Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, his mother having been a daughter of that great Irish chieftain.

Antrim, though educated in England and married to the widow of Buckingham, had been "bred in the Highland way, and wore neither hat, cap, shoes, nor stockings till seven or eight years old", and a Highlander he remained to the end. On the Scots assuming an attitude hostile to the Crown, Antrim declared that the Earl of Argyll threatened to attack his estates, and he begged both Charles

and Wentworth to supply him with arms, "to be kept in a store-house in Coleraine, because it would be too far for me and my tenants to send to Knockfergus if there were any sudden invasion".

As Antrim was a favourite of the Queen, Charles acquiesced, and requested Wentworth to favour the Earl, who was a Roman Catholic, "as much as any one of his profession in religion". When Antrim repaired to Dublin Castle and saw the Lord Deputy in pursuance of his request, "I desired to know", said Wentworth, "what provision of victual his lordship had thought of, which for so great a number of men" (Antrim had asked for 20,000) "would require a great sum of money. His lordship said he had not made any at all, in regard he conceived they should find sufficient in the enemy's country to sustain them, only his lordship proposed to transport over with him ten thousand live cows to furnish them with milk, which he affirmed had been his grandfather's play." The absurdity of Antrim's proposal may be gauged from the fact that he stated that, when all other resources failed, his men could "feed their horses with leaves of trees, and themselves with shamrocks". His proposal therefore came to naught.

The fear of a Scottish invasion of Ulster was universal. The Scottish Covenanters held Wentworth to be their most formidable enemy, and the Lord Deputy was well aware of the fact. As a safeguard the Viceroy proposed that the Scottish Covenant should be met by a new and very stringent oath, whereby the Scots of Ulster should be bound not only to obey the King implicitly, but to renounce all other covenants. To this proposal, notwithstanding the fact that such an oath, having no Parliamentary sanction, was illegal, Charles gladly assented. The oath, which is still known in Ulster as the Black Oath, was enforced by royal prerogative only, and it registers the low-water mark of liberty of thought under the English constitution.

The manner in which the Black Oath was exacted was very reprehensible. Some took the oath under compulsion; others, forsaking their farms and cattle, hid themselves in the forests to avoid taking it; while a large number fled to Scotland. The Roman Catholics had many grievances, but they were not required to take the Black Oath, and thus escaped an ordeal to which all their Scottish neighbours in Ireland were subjected. "We are content", said one, "with our advantage that my Lord Deputy permits to go out under his patronage that desperate doctrine of absolute submission to princes; that notwithstanding all our laws, yet our whole estate may no more oppose the prince's deed, if he should play all the pranks of Nero, than the poorest slave at Constantinople may resist the tyranny of the Great Turk."

The Earl of Argyll now sent agents to incite the Scots of Ulster to rise in the cause of the Covenant; but the ships on which they embarked were taken, and a plot to betray the castle of Carrickfergus into the hands of the Scots was discovered in time, and the principal agent in the plot executed.

But whatever else the Lord Deputy might have in hand, he was always on the look-out for money wherewith to replenish the Exchequer. Casting about for some new source from which to add to the revenue, which he had already increased by his skilful methods to an annual sum of £80,000, Wentworth bethought him of the Ulster Plantations; and having his attention drawn especially to Londonderry by the complaints of Sir Thomas Phillips of Limavady, he found that the great Corporation had not fulfilled the law's requirements, and he therefore commenced Star Chamber proceedings against the Corporation of London. The matter occupied the attention of the Court for three years, when, after an offer from the Londoners of £30,000 to close the case, which was refused, the matter ended by the charter

being declared forfeited and a fine of £70,000 being imposed.

"The Londoners", wrote Howell, that charming gossip, "have not been so forward in collecting the ship-money, since they have been taught to sing heigh-down-derry, and many of them will not pay till after imprisonment, that it may stand upon record they were forced to it. The assessments have been wonderfully unequal and unproportionable, which is very ill taken, it being conceived they did it on purpose to raise clamour through the city."

Wentworth now suggested to the King that His Majesty should "be pleased to reserve" Londonderry "entire to yourself, it might prove a fit part of an appanage for our young master the Duke of York. It may be made a seigniory not altogether unworthy His Highness; and for so good a purpose I should labour night and day, and think all I could do, little." James Duke of York's experience of Derry proved to be of a different kind to that thus proposed.

Matters proceeded thus until in 1640 we find another Irish Parliament appealed to for subsidies, under the pressure of the Scottish rebellion, and a voluntary contribution, headed by £20,000 from Wentworth himself, raised to meet the immediate wants of the King. Though not a warm nor generous patron, Charles could not fail to recognize so much devotedness on the part of Wentworth, and accordingly he was rewarded, on the 12th of January, 1640, with the titles of Baron Raby, of Raby Castle, in the County of Durham, and Earl of Strafford. He was shortly afterwards elected a Knight of the Garter, and was invested with the higher dignity of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, a title which had not been bestowed on any Governor of Ireland since Devonshire's time.

As on the previous occasion, the Irish Parliament was loyal and liberal in the extreme, and voted four entire subsidies, some of the members protesting, with characteristic

warmth, that six or seven more ought to be given, and others declaring that their "hearts contained *mines of subsidies* for His Majesty".

The temper of this Parliament is somewhat puzzling, for we learn from the Report of the Privy Council that the members seemed "in a manner to contend one with another who should show most affection and forwardness to comply with His Majesty's occasions, and all of them expressing, even with passion, how much they abhor and detest the Scotch Covenanters, and how readily every man's hand ought to be laid to his sword, to assist the King in the reducing of them by force to the obedience and loyalty of subjects. . . ."

The Lords exhibited the same spirit of loyalty as the Commons, and, on the motion of the Earl of Ormonde, they passed a resolution to congratulate the Lower House on the temper it had shown in this pressing emergency, and to signify the desire that both Houses should join in the declaration. They proposed to appoint a conference to arrive at some agreement for joint action by the two branches of the Irish legislature.

The Commons, however, became suddenly jealous of their privileges; it was their sole right to grant money, and they refused to comply with any form which might imply an acknowledgment that the Upper House had shared in the merit of the grant.

The Lords now determined not to be behindhand in professions of zeal and loyalty, and therefore published a separate declaration of their devotion to the royal cause, similar in substance to that issued by the House of Commons; and thus both Houses expressed like sentiments "published in print for a testimony to all the world and succeeding ages that as this kingdom hath the happiness to be governed by the best of kings", so therefore "they are desirous to give His Majesty just cause to account of this people amongst the best of his subjects".

Strafford could now congratulate himself on the success of his efforts to serve the Crown, especially as in the preamble of the Subsidy Bill he had been referred to as a "just, wise, vigilant, and profitable governor". He still had enemies, but he contented himself by saying: "God forgive their calumnies, and I do". He now proceeded to raise an Irish army of 8000 foot and 1000 horse, which were ordered to Ulster on pretence of garrisons being required for Carrickfergus, Londonderry, and Coleraine. The forces assembled at Carrickfergus, ready to be transported to England; and, having left everything in readiness and appointed his friend, Sir Christopher Wandesford, Lord Deputy, with instructions to collect the subsidies and continue the levies of soldiers, which were made without difficulty, the Lord-Lieutenant hastened over to England, still exulting in what he believed to be the temper of the whole people of Ireland.

"In few words," Strafford wrote on board ship to Secretary Windebank, "I have left that people as fully satisfied, and as well affected to His Majesty's person and service, as can possibly be wished for, notwithstanding the philosophy of some amongst you then in the Court, who must needs have it believed, true or false, that that people are infinitely distasted with the present Government, and hating of me, which error I can very easily remit unto them, considering, that thereby the truth will be more clearly understood unto all, and in conclusion the shame fall upon themselves."

Strafford's belief in Irish loyalty is further expressed by his adding: "And this I am able to assure His Majesty, that I find the people as forward to venture their persons, as they had been to open their purses, and enlarge their engagements towards the instant occasion, infinitely disdaining His Majesty should be so insolently proceeded with, and unworthily provoked by those covenanters: to which only I will add thus much (if truth may be spoken without offence to such as would have it thought to be otherwise), that not only the

standing officers and soldiers of that army, but the Irishry themselves also, will go (to speak modestly) as willingly and gladly under my command, as of any other English subject whatsoever".

The truth of the closing statement was never tested, for the raising of forces in Ireland to join the Royalist troops in a vain attempt to subdue by force the hostility of the powerful Parliamentary party cost both minister and monarch their heads, and the forces raised by Strafford in Ireland never left the country. In raising these troops he was acting contrary to his oft-expressed opinion that the training of Irishmen as soldiers was a menace to the State. And such it proved to be.

LIBRARY OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

INDEX TO VOL. II

Act of Attainder, 160, 214.
Act of Uniformity, 148, 149.
Adare, 79.
Agher, 196.
Aguila, Don Juan del, 114, 117, 120–4, 127–8.
Albert, the Archduke, 152, 157.
Allen, Dr., 23.
Anderson (quoted), Rev. Dr., 158.
Annally O'Farrell, 33.
Antrim, 10, 177 183, 184, 218.
— Randal MacDonald, 1st Earl of, 259.
— Randal, 2nd Earl of, 259.
Ara, M'Leod of, 36.
Archer, James, the Jesuit, 102.
Argyll, Earl of, 2, 261.
— the "Countess" of, 2.
Ariosto, 89, 90.
Armada, the Spanish, 2, 58, 92.
Armagh, 15, 34, 37, 54, 56, 65–6, 72–3, 84, 107, 110–11, 132, 165, 172, 177, 195.
Askeaton, 79.
Assaroe, 56.
Asshe, Thomas, 6.
Atford, Captain Launcelot, 104, 109.
Athenry, 49.
Athlone, 80.
Aumale, Duke of, 157.

Babington, Sheriff, 170.
Bacon, Francis, 62–3, 76, 151, 211, 230.
Bagenal, Mabel, 17–20, 90.
— Sir Henry, 5, 6, 17–20, 23–4, 27–30, 34, 56–7, 65, 67–8, 73, 138.
— Sir Nicholas, 17.
Bagwell (quoted), Richard, 4, 23, 38, 80, 83, 87, 89, 130, 191.
Baker, Lieutenant, 170.
Ballaghboy, pass of, 80.
Ballinafad, 81.
Ballinakill, 101.
Ballybetagh, a, 179.
Ballyboe, a, 179.
Ballymahon, 185.
Ballymok, castle of, 74.
Ballymote, 21.
Ballyragget, 101.
Ballyshannon, 15, 21, 55, 75, 105, 174, 178, 196.
Baltimore, castle of, 121, 127.
Bandon, the River, 99.
Bangor, 196.
Bann, 178.
— town of, 126.
Barnes, 52.
Barnwell, Sir Patrick, 18, 19, 150, 196, 204–5.
Barry, David, Lord, 98, 118.
Bath of Drogheda, John, 153, 156.
Bearehaven, 121.
Beddingfield, Sir Henry, 94.
Bedford, Francis, Earl of, 27.
Belfast, 58, 196, 250.
Belgoley, 122.
Bellaclinth, ford of, 86.
Belleek, 23, 55.
Belturbet, 196.
Benburb, 110.
Bermingham Tower, the, 162.
Billings, Captain, 66.
Binche, 157.
Bingham, George, 21, 22, 25, 36.
— Sir Richard, 4, 5, 21, 23, 26, 35, 36, 55, 63, 73, 99, 138.
"Black Oath", the, 261.
Black Staff, the, 42.
Blackwater, the Fort at, 7, 33, 34, 54, 56, 63, 65, 68, 73, 84, 101, 105, 110, 132, 134.
Blackwatertown, 65.
Blake, William, 91.
Blount, Sir Christopher, 63.
Bodley, Sir Josiah, 120, 183.
Boyle (later Earl of Cork), Richard, 128, 208, 237.
— town of, 55, 80, 81.
Boyne, the River, 14.
Braidstaire, 184–5.
Bramston, Sir Thomas, 250.
Breffny, 21, 43, 44, 63.
Brill, 51.
Brittany, 33, 71, 156.
Brooke, Sir Calisthenes, 66.
Browning, Robert, 156, 172.
Brussels, 152, 157.
Buckhurst, Lord Treasurer, 111.
Bulkeley, Archbishop Lancelot, 238–9.
Buncrana, 168, 171.
Burgh, Thomas, Lord, 51–4, 56–7, 59, 63.
Burke, Redmond, 73, 101, 118.
— Sir William, 200–1.
— Theobald, 57.
— Thomas, 79.
— Ulick, 36.
— Walter Kittagh, 57.
— William, 118.
Burleigh, Lord, 19.
Burren, 74.
Burt-on-Swilly, castle of, 166, 171–2.
Butler. (See James Fitz-Thomas.)
— (see Mountgarret), Richard.

Cahir, castle of, 78.
— Lord, 78, 79.
Caligula, the Roman Emperor, 91.
Callan, the River, 66.
Calvert, George, 207.
Camden, the Historian (quoted), 8, 65, 69.

Carberry, 100.
Carew, Sir George, 97, 99, 101, 102, 110, 114, 115, 117–9, 124, 127–8, 186–7, 194, 196.
Carey, Judge, 89.
— Sir George, 94, 112, 142, 145, 147.
Carlingford, 107.
Carlow, 16.
Carolo, Don, 41.
Carrickfergus, 40, 58, 59, 78, 103–4, 132, 147, 189.
Cary, 1st Viscount Falkland, Henry, 227, 235.
Cashel, 98, 118, 122.
Castleconnell, Baron of, 79.
Castlehaven, 121, 123, 127.
Castle Keran, 86.
Castle Park, 114, 120.
Castlerea, 185.
Catlin, Sergeant, 250.
Caulfeild, Sir Toby, 152, 188, 219.
Cavan, 5, 63, 177, 228.
Cecil, Sir Robert. (See Salisbury, Earl of.)
Chamberlain, Sir John, 106.
Chapman, George, 193.
Charlemont, fort of, 132, 135, 137, 196.
Charles I, King, 233, 242–7, 254.
Chichester, Sir Arthur, 58, 130–3, 147–8, 150, 152–3, 155–6, 159, 165–6, 172–4, 177, 183, 185–7, 189–91, 198–9, 203–4, 207–8, 211, 221–4, 231.
— Sir John, 58, 59.
— Sir Richard, 130, 131.
Church, the Irish, 49, 50.
Cinel Connel, the, 21, 124.
— Owen, the, 124.
Clanaboy, 133.
Clanrickard, Earl of, the, 36, 49, 62, 74, 79, 106, 112, 125–6, 128.
Clare, 106.
Clavijo, Don Paez de, 119.
Clifford, Sir Conyers, 49, 55–6, 79–81, 84, 138.
— Sir William, 22.
Clogher, 196, 217.
Clonmel, 115.
Clontibert, 37.
Clough, A. H., 212.
Coinage Debased. (See Currency, the.)
Coke, Sir John, 253.
Coleraine, 168, 173, 177, 182, 188, 196, 220.
Coloony, castle of, 80, 82.
Columba, St., 171.
Colum-cille, St., 36, 104.
Connaught, 4, 5, 21–3, 26, 33, 35–6, 49, 55, 64, 79, 99, 106, 108, 124, 137, 144.
Connor Roe, 152.
Conry, Florence, 157.
Constable, 59.
Cooney, Captain, 66.
Corbet, Ensign, 169.
Cork, 98, 100, 114, 115, 119, 120, 122–3, 128.
Cornwallis, Sir Charles, 207.
Corunna, 118, 156.
Cosby, Colonel, 66.
Costello, 36.
Council, English Privy, 35, 134, 157.
— Irish Privy, 35, 40, 48, 59, 65, 78, 101.
Cowper, W., 216.
Cox, the Historian (quoted), 26, 68, 137.
Crawford, Hugh, 55.
Croagh Patrick, mountain of, 156.
Croisic, 156.
Croom, 119.
Culmore, the fort of, 104, 109, 166–8, 170.
Curlieu Mountains, the, 36, 80, 82.
Currency, the, 111, 112, 145.

D'Alton, Rev. Dr., 228.
Danvers, Sir Charles, 111.
— Sir Henry, 111, 128, 132, 137.
Davies, Sir John, 142, 143, 156, 173, 176–8, 182, 192, 200–2, 212–4.
De Cobos, Alonzo, 48.
Delvin, Lord, 97, 158.
Denham, Chief Justice, Sir John, 204, 221.
De Quincey, Thomas, 205.
Dermutio, 120.
Derry, 104–6, 108, 131–3, 143, 162, 164, 169, 170–1, 177, 182, 196.
— and Raphoe, Bishop of, 165, 178.
Devonshire, Earl of. (See Mountjoy.)
Dillon, Theobald, 97.
Disraeli, Benjamin, 220.
Docwra, Sir Henry, 99, 101, 104–9, 110–12, 131–3, 143, 163–4, 178.
Doe, Castle, 172.
Donaghamoyne, 86.
Donegal, 36, 47, 108, 112, 144, 152, 165, 172, 196.
Doon, the Rock of, 172.
Douai, 156, 209.
Dover, Straits of, 156.
Dowling of Drogheda, 171.
Down, 177.
Downham, Bishop of Londonderry, George, 236.
Downpatrick, 110.
Drogheda, 14, 54, 78, 110, 140, 143, 145, 171–2.
Drumcliff, 56.
Drumcondra, 19, 86, 87, 89.
Dublin, city of, 13, 25, 27, 29, 34, 38, 48, 52, 53, 56, 59, 64, 73, 78, 90, 101, 104, 114, 115, 139, 157, 166, 174.
Dublin Castle, 7, 11, 22, 105, 150, 156, 158, 162, 181, 199, 209, 244.
— University, 196.
Duke, Sir Henry, 5, 25, 42.
Dunboy, castle of, 121, 127.
Dunboyne, Lord, 115, 204.
Dundalk, 10, 15, 22, 29, 34, 39, 42, 45, 47, 60, 70, 73, 89, 95, 105, 107.
Dungannon, 15, 28, 34, 73, 103, 135, 153, 173, 188, 196.
— Brian, Baron of, 1.
— Ferdoragh, Baron of, 1, 34.
— Hugh, Baron of, 155.
Dungarvan, 64.
Dunluce Castle, 58, 184, 218.
Dunmore, 36.
Dunsany, Lord, 196.
Dymmock, John, 56, 82.

Edmondes, Sir Thomas, 157.
Egerton, Charles, 58, 59.
Eliogarty, 98.
Eliot (quoted), George, 210.
Elizabeth, Queen, 7, 10, 24, 27–31, 35, 38–41, 43, 51, 57, 60–2, 72, 85, 88, 92–7, 111.
Elliott, Baron, 6.
Ellogh, 104.
Ely O'Carroll, 97.
Ennis, 106.
Enniskillen, 25, 26, 28, 188, 196.
Erne, Lough, 15, 25.
— the River, 23, 55, 56.
Essex, Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of, 5, 10, 18, 45, 49, 52, 55, 62, 63, 75–80, 84–9, 91–6, 99, 111, 128–9, 133–5.

Eustace, Captain, 23.
Everard, Sir John, 200, 202, 212–3.

Falkland, Henry Cary, 1st Viscount, 227, 235.
Farney, 45, 86, 110.
Faughard, 34, 107.
Feara Cualann, 16.
Fenton, Sir Geoffrey, Chief Secretary, 41, 42, 47, 48, 63, 65, 122, 180.
Fermanagh, 4, 5, 21, 23–5, 43, 77, 144, 177, 200.
Fermoy, 80.
Ffolliott, Sir Henry, 174–5.
Fingall, Lord, 247, 253.
Finneterstown, 79.
FitzGerald (quoted), Edward, 193.
FitzHarris, Edward, 204.
FitzMaurice of Kerry, 118.
FitzWilliam, Sir Thomas, 166.
— Sir William, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 21–5, 27, 29, 31, 162.
Flanders, 51, 191.
Fleming, Captain, 66.
Fleminge, Charles, 6.
Flood, Captain Ellis, 104.
Flushing, 27.
Forbes, Captain Arthur, 228.
Ford of Biscuits, the, 26.
Four Masters (quoted), the, 11, 34, 38, 82, 97, 153, 167, 176–222.
Foyle, Lough, 36, 73, 75, 84, 99, 103–6, 109, 162, 168, 170, 190.
Fuller, Captain, 5.
Fullerton, Sir James, 178.

Galtrim, Baron of, 208.
Galway, 49, 55, 80, 83, 200.
Gardiner, Sir Robert, 39, 41, 60, 64, 72.
Glanworth, castle of, 115.
Glasgow, Archbishop of, 140.
Glenarm, 58.
Glenconkein, 131, 173.
Glenmalure, 12–4.
Glenveagh, 174, 175.
Glin, the Knight of, 118.
Godolphin, Sir Wm., 134, 135.
Gordon, Lieutenant, 169.
Gormanstown, Lord, 165, 166, 196, 204, 208.
Gough, Sir James, 204, 208, 209.
"Graces", the. (*Vide* Chap. XXXI, *passim*.)
Granard, 228.
Grandison, Oliver St. John, 1st Viscount, 226–7.
Gray, Lord, 98.
Grey de Wilton, Lord, 95.
Gunpowder Plot, the, 148, 199.

Hal, 157.
Hampton, Archbishop of Armagh, Christopher, 227.
Hampton Court, 141.
Hansard, Sir Richard, 165.
Harrington, Sir John, 79, 82, 89, 90, 141, 164.
Hart, Captain, 166, 168, 171.
Heath, Captain, 108.
Henrietta Maria, Queen, 234.
Henry VIII, King, 88, 111, 160, 194, 217.
Henslowe, Captain, 4, 5, 6.
Herbert, Sir Edward, 5, 25.
Hill, Lieutenant Moses, 59.
Holy Cross, the Abbey of, 97.
Home, Lord, 140.
Hore, Philip, 43.
House of Commons, Irish, 1, 196, 199, 203, 263.
— of Lords, Irish, 199, 203, 263.
Hovenden, Henry, 48, 88, 89.
Howell, James, 262.
Howth, 97.
— George St. Laurence, Baron of, 158, 159.
Hussy, Patrick, 208.

Ikerrin, 118.
Inchiquin, Barony of, 55.
Inishcarra, 100.
Innishowen, 109, 162, 164, 165, 171, 173, 213.
Iraght O'Cahan, 143.
Island Magee, 5, 59.
Island of Inch, 163.

Jacobs, Sir Robert, Solicitor-General, 191.
James VI, of Scotland, King, 58, 133, 184.
— I, of England, King, 137, 139, 140, 141, 144, 148–50, 161, 163, 164, 186, 194, 205–6, 214–5, 221, 228–30.
Jennings, Captain, 79.
Jones, Archbishop of Dublin, Thomas, 221.
— Sir William, 230.

Kavanagh, Art, 16.
— Brian Macdonagh, 102.
Kells, 86.
Kerry, 122.
Kilcullen, 78.
Kildare, Earl of, 96.
Kileen, Lord, 196.
Kilkenny, 73, 74, 101, 104
Killybegs, 48, 108, 118.
Kilmacrenan, 172.
Kilmallock, 79.
Kiltinan, 115.
Kingsmill, Sir Francis, 209.
Kinsale, 114, 115, 119, 121–3, 126–8.
Kinsale Head, Old, 113.
Kitchener, Earl of, 170.
Knighthoods, 52, 77.

Lagan, the River, 86.
Lambert, Sir Oliver, 170, 187.
Landor, Walter Savage, 91, 228.
Latwater, Rev. Dr., 110.
Laud, Archbishop Wm., 96.
Lee, Captain, 18.
— the River, 99.
Leinster, Province of, 65, 78, 80, 95, 118, 125.
Leitrim, 77, 230.
Leix, 73.
Leland, the Historian, (quoted), Rev. Dr., 41, 231.
Leslie, Henry, Bishop of Down, 259.
Leveson, Admiral Sir Richard, 120, 121.
Ley, Sir James, 178.
Liffey, the River, 13.
Lifford, 20, 108, 109, 144, 188, 196.
Limavady, 196, 219, 220.
Limerick, 79, 98, 100, 119.
Lindsay, Sir James, 140.
Linen industry, establishment of, 257.
Lisieux, 156.
Lismore, 74, 80.
Loftus, Adam, 1st Viscount Ely, 60, 64, 72, 94, 237.
— Sir Adam of Rathfarnham, 245.
London, 52, 94, 97, 145, 182, 184, 261–2.
Londonderry, 187, 261–2.
Longford, 78, 230.
Lorraine, 157.
Lough Cé, Monastery of, 82.
Louth, 78, 86.
— Lord, 196.
Louvain, 157.
Low Countries, the, 71.
Luttrell, Thomas, 204, 205.

MacBaron. (See O'Neill, Sir Cormac.)
MacBrian, Patrick M'Collo, 6.
MacCarthy, Dermot, 120.
MacCarthy of Carberry, Florence, 100, 123.
MacDevitt, Hugh Boy, 109, 163.
— Phelim Reagh, 109, 163, 169, 170, 171, 173–4, 184.
MacDonald or MacDonnell, Alaster, 58.
— Alexander, 219, 221.
— Donnell, 58.
— "Ineen Duive", 2, 3, 11.
— Ludar, 219.
— Sir James MacSorley, 58, 67, 184.
— Sir Randal MacSorley, 58, 183, 218, 259.
— Sorley, 219.
— Sorley Boy, 58, 184, 259.
MacDonalds, or MacDonnells, the Irish, 58, 59, 183.
MacDonough of Corran, 74.
— of Tirerill, 49.
MacGauran, Archbishop Edward, 22, 23, 28.
MacLeod of Ara, 36.
MacMahon, Brian Hugh Oge, 6, 124.
— Eugene, 157.
— Ever MacCooley, 88.
— Hugh Roe, 6.
MacMahons of Oriel, the, 97.
MacQuillans, the, 184.
MacSweeney of "The Battle-axes", 118.
MacSwiney, Sir John, 82.
— Sir Mulmore, 174, 175.
MacWard, Owen Roe, 155.
Magherabeg, 112.
Magheramore (Mawghryre More), 5.
Magrath, James, 239.
— Miler, 74, 239.
Maguire, Cathal, 22.
— Conor Oge, 24.
— Cormac, 219.
— Cuconnaught, 152, 153, 155.
— Edmund Hugh, 4, 6.
— Hugh, of Fermanagh, 3, 4, 5, 15, 21–6, 28, 40, 43, 45, 56, 57, 67, 152.
— another Hugh, 100.
Maree, 49.
Markham, Sir Griffin, 82.
Mary Queen of Scots, 139.
Maryborough, 57.
Massereene, fort of, 220.
Maunsell, Captain Rice, 58, 59.
Meath, 14, 78, 82, 122, 125, 208.
— Bishop of, 20, 224–7.
Mellifont, 6, 135, 153.
Meredith (quoted), George, 133.
Merriman, Captain, 59.
Milton (quoted), John, 212.
Monaghan, 4–6, 30, 37, 40, 86, 110, 196.
Montague, Captain, 66, 70.
Montgomery, George, Bishop of Derry, 164, 165, 170–2, 184–5.
— Laird of Braidstaire, Hugh, 184–5.
Moore, Gerald, 42.
— Sir Garret, 135, 153.
— (quoted), Thomas, 214.
More, Henry, 6.
Morgan, Captain Matthew, 105.
Moryson, Sir Richard, 130, 131.
— the Historian, Fynes, 68, 74, 107, 112, 120, 130–2, 135, 137, 141, 215.
Mountgarret, Richard, 3rd Viscount, 74, 78.
Mountjoy, Ch. Blount, Lord, 96, 97, 99, 100, 101, 105, 107, 110–12, 114, 115, 119, 124, 126–8, 130–2, 140–4, 153, 215.
— the fort of, 132.
Mount Norris, 107, 132.
Moyry, Pass of, 105, 110.
Mullaghcarne Mountains, the, 9.
Mullarkey, Edmund, 219–21.
Mullingar, 57.
Munster, Province of, 60, 73, 79, 80, 97, 99–101, 118, 122, 123, 125, 128.

Naas, 78.
Nangle, Friar, 90.
Naples, Tyrone visits, 192.
Narrow Acre, the, 42.
Navan, 86.
Neagh, Lough, 131, 132.
Netherlands, the, 55.
Newrath, 86.
Newry, 5, 18, 37, 40, 54, 56, 65, 78, 105, 107, 196.
Newton Stewart, 109.
Newtownards, 196.
Normandy, 156.
Norris of Rycot, Lord, 33.
— (son of above), Sir Henry, 80, 138.
— (brother of above), Sir John, 33–5, 37, 41, 42, 45, 47, 48, 52, 53, 57, 107, 138.
— (brother of above), Sir Thomas, 33, 59, 60, 79, 99, 138.
Nugent, Sir Christopher, 201.

O'Brien, Murrough, Baron Inchiquin, 55.
O'Brien, Sir Daniel, 200.
O'Byrne, Feacha M'Hugh, 12, 13, 47.
O'Cahan, Sir Donnell, 104, 143, 144, 149, 166, 167, 173, 177, 219.
— Rory Oge, 219, 220–21.
— Shane Carragh, 173.
O'Campo, Captain Alphonso, 123, 125.
O'Carroll of Ely, 97.
O'Cleary, Fearfeasa, 66.
O'Connellan, Parson, 6.
O'Conor Don, Dermot, 101.
O'Conor Sligo, Donough, 49, 79, 80, 82, 83, 118.
O'Conor Roe, 57, 118.
O'Devany, Cornelius, 221–2.
O'Dogherty, Lady, 166, 168, 171, 172.
— Owen, 170, 174.
— Phelim, 109, 118, 163.
— Sir Cahir, 109, 163–9, 170–2, 177, 193, 213–5.
— Sir John, 40, 48, 77, 106, 109, 162, 163.
O'Donnell, Caffar (son of Sir Hugh), 155.
— Calvagh, Chieftain of Tirconnell, 2, 3, 21, 22, 27.
— Con (son of above), 2.
— Con (son of above), 108, 109.
— Donnell (brother of above), 108, 109.
— Donnell (son of Sir Hugh), 3, 11.
— Hugh (son of Calvagh), 3.
— Hugh Boy (grandson of Calvagh), 108, 109.
— Hugh Roe (son of Sir Hugh), 11, 13–6, 18, 20–3, 25, 28, 32–4, 36, 37, 40, 42, 43, 45, 47, 49, 55–7, 60, 64, 66, 67, 74, 78, 80–2, 89, 106–9, 112, 117–9, 122, 152, 163.

O'Donnell, Hugh (son of Roderick), 155.
— Nuala (sister of Roderick), 155.
— Roderick. (See Tirconnell, 1st Earl of.)
— Shane MacManus Oge, 174.
— Sir Hugh (brother of Calvagh), 2, 15, 21.
— Sir Nial Garv (son of Sir Hugh), 172, 175, 176.
O'Donohoes, the, 100.
O'Donovans, the, 100.
O'Driscoll, Fineen, 121.
O'Gallagher, Sir John, 162.
O'Hagan, Henry, 86.
O'Hanlon, Terence, 70.
O'Kane of Gleniveen, 22.
O'Keenary, 156.
O'Kervellan, 217.
O'Laverty, Loughlin, 220.
O'Loughrane, Patrick, 221, 222.
O'Mahonys, the, 100.
O'Moore, Melaghlin, 102.
O'Moore, Owny MacRory, 73, 78, 101, 102.
O'Neale, Tirlagh, 183.
O'Neill, Art, of Clanaboy, 133.
— Art Oge (brother of Con Bacagh, 1st Earl of Tyrone), 2.
— Art Oge (son of Sir Cormac MacBaron), 155, 219.
— Brian (son of Ferdoragh, Baron of Dungannon), 1.
— Brian (son of Shane), 2.
— Brian (son of Hugh), 155.
— Brian Crosslagh (son of Cormac MacBaron), 219, 220.
— Con Bacagh (1st Earl of Tyrone), 1, 2, 10, 217.
— Con (son of Shane), 2, 3, 134.
— Con (illegitimate son of Hugh, Earl of Tyrone), 74.
— of Castlerea, 185.
— Edmund (son of Shane), 2.
— Felim Roe, 15.
— Ferdoragh (illegitimate son of Con Bacagh, created Baron of Dungannon), 1.
— Henry (son of Shane), 2, 11, 12, 134.
— Henry (son of Hugh, Earl of Tyrone), 152, 156, 157.
— Henry (son of Phelim Roe), 15.
O'Neill, Hugh, Baron of Dungannon (son of Ferdoragh). (See Tyrone, Earl of.)
— Hugh (son of above), 155.
— Hugh Boy, 190.
— Hugh Gavelagh (son of Shane), 2, 3, 4, 40.
— John (son of Tyrone), 155.
— Owen MacArt, Owen Roe (son of Art, y. bro. of Hugh), 136, 157.
— Shane (son of Con Bacagh), 1, 2, 4, 9, 11, 12, 30, 32, 62, 148, 173, 184, 192.
— Shane MacBrian, 5, 58.
— Sir Art (son of Shane), 2, 11–3, 77, 105, 108.
— Sir Brian MacPhelim (son of Phelim Bacagh), 17.
— Sir Cormac MacBaron (grandson of Con Bacagh), 25, 26, 40, 48, 57, 88, 133, 155, 156, 219.
— Turlough (son of Shane), 2.
— Turlough (son of Henry, son of Felim Roe), 15.
— Turlough Brasselagh (bro. of Con Bacagh), 2.
— Turlough Lynnagh (grandson of Art Oge), 1, 2, 3, 9–11, 20–2, 38, 105.
Oranmore, 49.
Ormonde, Earls of, 33, 57, 60, 61, 63–5, 67, 72–4, 78, 79, 89, 94–6, 98, 100–3, 114, 251, 252, 263.
O'Reilly, Sir John, 68.
— Maelmuire, 68.
— Philip, 43, 44.
O'Rourke, Brian Oge, 21, 22, 45, 56, 57, 82, 118.
Ossuna, Duke of, 157.
Ostend, 157.
O'Sullivan Beare, 23–6, 37, 66, 78, 82, 101, 121, 122, 125, 127–8, 222.
Oviedo, Matthew of, 101, 117.
Ovington, Henry, 48, 88, 89.
Owen, Richard, 89.
Owles, the, 57.
Owney, Abbey of, 119.
Oyster Haven, 119.

Pale, the English, 7, 18, 23, 25, 33, 35, 53, 143, 150.
Parsons, Sir William, 245, 248.
Paulet, Sir George, 164–9, 174.
Peltham, Sir Edward, 142.
Percy, Colonel, 65.
Perrot, Sir John, 11, 152, 195.
Phillips, Sir Thomas, 219, 220, 261.
Picardy, 70.
Plantation of Ulster. (*Vide* Chaps. XXIV, XXV, *passim*.)
Ploughing "by the tail", Ulster custom of, 178, 207.
"Plumes", the Pass of, 78.
Plunkett, Sir Christopher, 204.
Pope Clement VIII, 116.
— Gregory XIII, 116.
— Paul V, 192.
— Pius V, 115.
Portmore, 65.
Power, Sir Henry, 99, 100.
Powerscourt, Viscount, 16, 200.
Poynings' Act, 195, 196, 233, 252.
Preston, Thomas, 157.
Price, Captain Charles, 248.
Privy Council, the English, 202, 239.
— the Irish, 202.
Pynnar, Nicholas, 183.

Queen's County, 101.
Queenstown, 98.
Quillebœuf, 156.

Radcliff, Sir Alexander, 81.
Radcliffe, Sir George, 248.
Ralegh, Sir Walter, 51, 88, 96.
Randolph, Colonel Edward, 104.
Ranelagh, Roger Jones, 1st Viscount, 253.
Rathlin Island, 184.
Rathmullen, 36, 153.
Recusants, the, 196, 200, 203, 222.
Red Bay, 58.
Red Chair, Pass of, 98.
Rich, Barnaby, 182.
Rich, Penelope Devereux, Lady, 96.
Richardot, President of Artois, 157.
Richey (quoted), Professor, 11, 142.
Ridgeway, Sir Thomas, 170–2, 187, 200, 212.
Rincorran, 114, 119.
Robertson (quoted), William, 140.
Roche, Lord, 208.
Roe, James, 74, 79, 89, 94 101, 123.

Roe, Thomas, 74.
Romney, Captain, 70.
Roscommon, 22, 224.
Roscrea, 97.
Rouen, 152, 156.
Russell, Sir William, 27, 28, 34, 41, 45, 51.

St. Albans, 51.
St. Bearchan, 66.
St. John, Sir Oliver, 178, 200, 224, 226.
St. Laurence, Sir Christopher, 118.
St. Ledger, Sir Anthony, Captain, 47, 178.
— Sir Warham, 89, 97, 99, 100.
St. Patrick's Purgatory, 239.
Salisbury, Robert Cecil, 1st Earl of, 51–3, 56, 63, 65, 95, 128, 134, 150, 151, 158, 159, 184.
Scots in Ulster, the, 2, 28, 36, 37, 258.
Scott, Sir Walter, 148, 231.
Segrave, 37.
Shandon Castle, 128.
Shannon, the River, 100.
Shelley, Percy Bysshe, 91.
Sheriffs in Ulster, appointment of, 5, 40, 43, 62.
Sidney, Sir Henry, 9.
— Sir Philip, 27.
— Sir Robert, 63.
Slane, 153, 155.
— Lord, 196.
Slieve Fuaid, 15, 110.
— Phelim, 119.
— Roe, 12.
— Rua, 16.
Sligo, 49, 55, 56.
— castle of, 36, 80.
Southampton, Earl of, 51, 82, 89.
Spain, Spaniards, 3, 23, 26, 31, 40, 41, 47, 48, 56, 62, 70, 101, 108, 113–5, 117–21, 123–8, 152.
Spain, Philip II, King of, 101, 109.
— Philip III, King of, 101, 116, 118, 126, 128.
Spenser, Edmund, 130.
Spinola, Marquis, 157.
Stanley, Sir William, 31.
Star Chamber, 210, 261.
Strabane, 153, 196.
— castle of, 22.
Strewbridge, Hugh, 6.
Suarez, the Jesuit, 205, 210, 211.
Suir, the River, 79.
Sweden, Ulster men shipped to, 189, 190–1.
Swilly, Lough, 153, 162.
Swinburne (quoted), A. C., 135.
Swords, the village of, 19.

Taaffe, Captain, 67, 124.
Talbot, William, 200, 204, 205, 210–12.
Templemore, 97.
Theobald of the Ships, 80, 82.
Thomond, Earl of, 23, 36, 60, 62, 74, 79, 100–3, 106, 107, 120, 128.
Three Rock Mountain, the, 16.
Tipperary, 118, 200.
Tirconnell, 2, 3, 23, 36, 77, 80, 83, 106, 108, 112, 142.
— Roderick O'Donnell, 1st Earl of, 140, 141, 144, 153, 155, 157–61, 164, 165, 177, 191, 192, 213, 215.
Toom, 132, 134.
Tory Island, 36, 165, 174.
Tournai, 157.
Tower of London, 7, 150, 196.
Trevor, Captain, 131.
Tribal system of land tenure, 192.
Trimblestown, Lord, 196.
Tuam, 36, 157.
Tullahogue, 134.
Tulsk, 22.
Turner, Captain, 54, 55.
Tyrone, Hugh O'Neill, Earl of, 1, 3, 4, 6–10, 13–5, 17–30, 32, 34–43, 45, 47–9, 54–6, 58, 60–70, 72, 73–5, 77, 78, 83, 86–90, 93–103, 105, 107, 108, 111, 117, 118, 122, 124, 125, 126, 129, 131–7, 139–44, 148, 150–3, 155–61, 164, 165, 177, 191, 192, 213–5.
Tyrone, the County, 10, 11, 20, 131, 134, 142, 144, 165, 172, 183, 200.
Tyrrell, Captain Richard, 57, 64, 73, 74, 100, 122, 125.

Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh, James, 224, 227, 234, 237.
— Sir William, 158.

Vaughan, Sir Francis, 55.

Wales, Henry, Prince of, 167, 198.
Walker, Thomas, 210.
Wallop, Sir Henry, 39.
Wandesford, Sir Christopher, 252.
Wantage, 88, 141.
Warren, Sir William, 19, 20, 47, 48, 86, 90, 95, 141.
Waterford, 33, 74.
Wentworth, Thomas, 1st Viscount (later Earl of Strafford), 240, 242, 245–6, 249, 252, 262. (*Vide* Chap. XXXIII, *passim*.)
Westmeath, 78, 97, 201.
Wexford, 230.
Whitman, Walt, 232.
Wicklow, 12, 78.
Wilbraham, Sir Roger, 6, 207.
Williams, Captain Thomas, 56, 63, 65.
Willis, Captain, 5, 6, 21, 43.
Wilmot, Charles, 1st Viscount, 237, 239, 243.
Winch, Sir Humphrey, 207.
Winchester, Marquis of, 164.
Windebank, Sir Francis, 264.
Wingfield, Sir Richard, 114, 125, 170, 172, 187.
— Sir Thomas, 66.
Wotton, Sir Henry, 89.

Yellow Ford, the Battle of, 66–9.
York, James, Duke of, 262.

Zubiaur, Don Pedro, 121.

00035230

Digitized with financial assistance from

HT Parekh FOUNDATION

An Initiative by HDFC

WITH YOU, RIGHT THROUGH

on 15 October, 2018